Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-085
Tuesday
3 May 1988

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Lukanov Meets Shultz, Tours U.S. Cities

AU0205171788 Sofia BTA in English 1605 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] New York, May 2 (BTA correspondent)—In a businesslike atmosphere and with a substantive desire for wider trade and economic relations between Bulgaria and the U.S., Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, continues his visit here. After his meetings in Washington with Mr George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, with Mr William Verity, secretary of commerce, and with other administration officials, Mr Andrey Lukanov and his delegation visited some of the largest U.S. cities: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Jose and New York City.

They held fruitful talks with senior executives of industrial groups, companies and banks which largely define the complexion of the U.S. economy. The business community here is not only willing to expand bilateral economic ties, which are now modest, but also to diversify them by new, highly efficient forms. An emphasis was laid on the availablity of good opportunities for joint investment, for the establishment of joint enterprises and ventures, for joint activity in Bulgaria's free trade zones.

At these talks, as well as at the meetings which Mr Andrey Lukanov had with representatives of the mass media, including one meeting at the New York offices of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, the hosts showed considerable interest in the processes of restructuring in Bulgaria, in the ideas and formulations of the July 1987 plenum and of the BCP National Conference. At a meeting in Los Angeles with the Council on World Affairs, as well as in meetings with other representatives of the financial and industrial circles, the conviction was expressed that now this country offers considerably better opportunities for trade, economic and techno-scientific partnership. A very useful meeting was held in Chicago with the board of the Bulgarian-American Trade and Economic Council. The sides discussed specific measures to enhance the council's role in the promotion of Bulgarian-U.S. relations in the conditions of the improved political climate.

Army Chief of Staff Returns From Greece

AU0305095488 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Apr 88 p 4

[Report by Boyko Borisov, BTA correspondent in Athens: "Stabilizing Factor in the Balkans and in Europe"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The delegation of the Bulgarian People's Army, led by Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, returned to our country late last night.

16th All-Army BCP Conference Convenes

Mitkov Gives Introductory Speech

AU0205173088 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Apr 88 p 1

[Report by Colonel Ivan Ganchev and Major Lyubomir Denov on the opening of the 16th All-Army BCP Conference held in Sofia on 26 April]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The 16th All-Army BCP Conference was opened by Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration, who delivered an introductory speech on the report, which had been distributed in advance.

The soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army [BPA], Col Gen Mitkov stressed, have closely rallied around the line of the BCP Central Committee; they entirely approve the historically important decisions of the BCP National Conference and express their firm resolve to implement these decisions into reality. We, the Army Communists, adopt the remarkable report read by the General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee, his introductory remarks, and closing speech, as well as the decision of the BCP National Conference as our own specific program for the intensification of the restructuring process within the BPA, for enhancing its combat strength to a qualitatively new level.

Within the 2 years which have elapsed since the 13th BCP Congress, following the July 1987 plenum of the BCP Central Committee, the Army developed scientific-research, political, organizational, and practical activities of a tremendous scope with the purpose of implementing the restructuring process. Today, in assessing our past work and in mapping out the forthcoming steps, we can say that innovation is gathering momentum, is developing both in scope and depth, is increasingly becoming a deeply felt, internal need of the Communists, of the entire Army personnel, is becoming their personal destiny, as well as an opportunity for their creative and innovative spirit.

The successes achieved in this respect justify our joy and confidence—the chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army pointed out. However, they are only the necessary, positive beginning of a favorable trend. We have a splendid potential of cadres and military personnel, who are endowed with lofty intellectual, professional, and moral-political qualitaties and talents.

Following this conference, Col Gen Mitko Mitkov stated: We must assist every member of our Army collective to make a thorough analysis of his own achievements, as well as to draw the necessary conclusions for his future work in connection with restructuring within the framework of his own operational duties, and he should initiate the implementation of these tasks. This means that we must put into operation the basic

factor of promoting restructuring in the Army—namely the human factor—and stimulate all mechanisms and conditions on which this process depends. We must create a political, moral, and ideological environment likely to achieve an optimal contribution to the upsurge of the soldiers' social activities, likely to expand all their creative efforts and opportunities for the implementation of tasks assigned by the party. [passage omitted]

Summary of Report Published

AU010601 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Apr 88 p 2

["Summary of the Report of the Main Political Administration of the BPA to the 16th All-Army BCP Conference," entitled: "The Army Communists—Leading the Struggle for Restructuring in the BPA"—passages in boldface as published]

[Text] The period since the 13th BCP Congress was a dynamic one, rich in content, and filled with many important political events, fateful for the party and the country. The BCP National Conference stood out most of all, because of its ideas and lasting importance; this conference made an assessment of what had been accomplished since the congress, and approved and enriched the July Concept for the Further Construction of Socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The report and introductory and closing speeches delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov make an invaluable new contribution to the theory and practice of socialist construction. The decision adopted equips the Communists and all the people with a clear perspective and a scientifically proven program for the revolutionary restructuring of society, for elevating socialism to a qualitatively new level, and for transforming the People's Republic of Bulgaria into a highly developed and civilized socialist state.

The broad, open discussions at the conference most convincingly demonstrated the unity and cohesion of the party around the Leninist April general line.

The conference emphasized with great force and satisfaction the fact that the goals and tasks of restructuring in Bulgaria fundamentally coincide with the comprehensive restructuring now under way in the Soviet Union.

The Communists and the entire personnel of the BPA, the report stressed, are captivated by the ideas, developments, and decisions of the BCP National Conference and unreservedly support the party's strategic course, adopted at the 13th BCP Congress and further specified by the July and November 1987 plenums of the BCP Central Committee, for a profound, all-embracing restructuring of the country's entire life. They are well aware that the adopted decisions also apply with full force to our activity, and that restructuring is also an objective necessity for the BPA.

This is fundamentally a **revolutionary process whose essence is to elevate the combat readiness of the troops to a qualitatively new level.**

All processes and phenomena, all changes in the base and superstructure of socialist society in Bulgaria also inevitably require fully adequate decisions and actions concerning them in relation to the Army, which is an inseparable part of the social organism. They categorically demand new approaches in building the military forces, in the country's defense training, and in the entire overall activity for raising the training and combat readiness of the troops to a qualitatively new level.

The further acceleration of restructuring is required by the demands presented by the new military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states. This doctrine poses exceptionally important problems for us, connected with maintaining sufficient defense capabilities in order to avert any enemy aggression, irrespective of the conditions and methods by which it is carried out.

The hitherto unused reserves for raising the troops' training and combat readiness are another factor that requires that we speed up the restructuring of our work.

On the basis of the party decisions, the requirements of the BCP Central Committee, and the premises of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the report points out, in the period following the 13th BCP Congress the BPA completed **organizational, scientific applications, and political work that was substantial in scope and complex in its nature,** with the aim of defining the essence, aims, paths, and tasks for restructuring in the Army.

The chief strategic aim of restructuring in the BPA was defined and embodied in a directive of the minister of national defense and the chief of the Main Political Administration of the BPA: **Relying on the previous gains and on the basis of the development and introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, the combat strength of the Army and the country's defense readiness are to be raised within the next few years to a qualitatively new level.**

Under the personal leadership of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, and with the active participation of the Communists from the General Staff, the central organs of the Ministry of National Defense, and the armed services, we have drawn up the expanded plan-program for practical work on restructuring. The decisions and ideas of the 13th BCP Congress and the July and November 1987 plenums of the BCP Central Committee also found specific application in a number of guiding documents.

Under the leadership of the BPA Main Political Administration, clarity has been introduced into the work and tasks of the political organs and party, Komsomol, and

trade union organizations for implementing restructuring in the BPA. These issues took a principal place at the 1986 conference of the all-army BCP aktiv and also in the work of the recently completed accountability-election party meetings and conferences.

It can definitely be said, the report of the BPA Main Political Administration states, that as a consequence of the command-organizational and party-political work being completed, restructuring in the BPA is in progress, gathering momentum, and becoming an irreversible process.

Work has been expanded on a broad front on developing and utilizing the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in order to attain the chief goal of restructuring, namely raising the combat strength of the BPA to a qualitatively new level. The most valuable achievement in the struggle to develop and utilize the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution is the fact **that in the majority of the personnel a correct attitude has been created toward this exceptionally important question.**

Work is developing on a broader basis in the field of military scientific research with a view to ensuring that Army practice and its scientific backing are equal to the tasks that the organs of management, the staffs, and the troops are resolving.

Successes are already evident in utilizing computer and microprocessor equipment in planning and combat-training activities. The development and utilization of software products are increasingly finding a permanent place. The inventive and innovative activities have gained greater scope and purposefulness in the Movement for Youth Technical and Scientific Creativity.

A substantial amount of work has been carried out, especially in the Higher Institute of Military Medicine [VVMI], on introducing modern medical equipment and applying progressive and effective methods of diagnosis and treatment.

Further on the report stressed that what had been achieved in developing and introducing the achievements of scientific and technical progress in the BPA was far from small, but it gave us no grounds for complacency. We are bound to approach and evaluate our successes with the criteria of the peak achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, taking into account the dynamics in the development of the military arts.

Positive changes are occurring in the thinking and approaches of a large proportion of the Communists regarding the problems of combat readiness as one of the most important fields of restructuring in the BPA.

The restructuring in troop training is being based on the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and is one of the crucial factors for high combat readiness and fighting capability in the BPA.

Recently we have witnessed a stimulation in the activity of the commanders at all levels, the political organs, and the party and Komsomol organizations in the struggle to decisively **improve and perfect the system for training the units and staffs, and to achieve high and lasting results in training work.** The work invested has led to a definite advance and to substantial positive changes.

Improvements have been introduced in the structure of the training year, which creates more favorable conditions for more quickly bringing the units together and improving the quality of the training process. Improvements have been made in the organization and leadership of troop training. **The wide introduction of electronics in planning and supervising combat and political training** has been an undoubted success. A wide range of software products have already been made available for this purpose.

A lot has already been done to further improve the training-material base on the basis of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and also to ensure the intensive utilization of this base. Different forms of simulation training apparatus have been introduced and are being developed. This is a prerequisite for making combat training more intensive, raising the quality of objective control, and applying higher criteria in assessing the results.

There have been improvements in the sense of responsibility and methodological and teaching training of the leaders of exercises, as well as in the activity of personnel in carrying out monthly, weekly, and daily assignments. The Komsomol organizations and societies are working more skillfully to develop the initiative and creativity of the Army Komsomol members in the struggle to achieve high results.

In order to achieve the required radical change in troop training, the report of the BPA Main Political Administration stressed, **it is essential now, most of all, to bring about a change in attitude toward the problems of combat and political training.** The Communists, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations must mobilize the forces of the entire personnel to create in them an attitude and a continuous striving for the fullest implementation of the training process.

The further acceleration of the restructuring of troop training requires the introduction of **qualitative changes in the style and criteria of the Communists regarding the planning, organization, and leadership of the training process.**

The work to raise discipline in the BPA to a new qualitative level is one of the main tasks of restructuring and a crucial condition for high combat efficiency and combat readiness.

The higher requirements relating to the work of the Communists demand that the political aspects of discipline be brought to the forefront.

It is necessary to intensify the influence of the party organizations in creating within the collectives an atmosphere of implacability and uncompromising stringency toward breaches of socialist legality, squandering, financial and material abuses, moral laxity, the use of alcohol, and other negative phenomena.

The economic sector and the rear echelons of the BPA face important tasks in restructuring.

The establishment of the organs for self-management, making the labor collectives managers of socialist property, and the extended application of the competitive and elective principles in elevating the cadres form a guarantee for further successes.

There is a marked increase in the work of the Communists, party organizations, and political organs of the construction units. A good start has been made in the renewal processes in the organs of the rear of the BPA. A number of important problems of management of the rear are being successfully solved, as well as the ensuring of supplies to the Army from the rear, through the introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

The Concept for the Further Construction of Socialism in Bulgaria, the report points out, set man as both a goal and a factor for the successful implementation of restructuring.

For the conditions prevailing in the Army, the task of increasing the role of the human factor, which in the structural aspect includes the officer corps, sergeant majors, petty officers, sergeants, students and pupils in the military teaching establishments, enlisted men and sailors, and military employees and workers, means unleashing, expanding, and applying to the maximum degree the ideological-political, moral-psychological, emotional, will-power, and physical qualities of all servicemen and Army and labor collectives in restructuring all Army activity.

The chief obstacles to developing the renewal processes in the Army have their roots exactly in the human factor and, more precisely, not so much in its qualitative characteristics and capabilities as in its most effective practical and applied fulfillment in the spirit of the new requirements.

The officer corps, in its training, tasks, and capabilities, is the foundation for building up the Army and plays a leading and crucial role in fulfilling all the tasks.

What, in the most general terms, is the consistent course, the technique for effectively involving the human factor in the processes of restructuring in the Army? This presupposes the following: forming a profound individual conviction in the correctness of the party's strategic course for profound restructuring in the life of our society; comprehending its goals and tasks, and the approaches for its implementation at the relevant level; opening up, creating, and channeling the interests of the different components of the human factor in the direction of restructuring; and, on this basis, forming socially engaged motivations and turning these motivations into vigorous practical actions for restructuring, through stringently organizing Army life in its entirety and perfecting the style and methods of work. Restructuring in the Army depends primarily on the extent to which we manage to convince and mobilize people and continuously increase their individual sense of responsibility and labor activity.

Ideological work, as one of the motive forces of the restructuring process, has an important role to play in resolving this task. The BCP National Conference set the task of raising ideological work to a qualitatively new level, effecting a radical change in people's thinking and awareness, and activating the efforts and will of the human factor.

It should be clearly understood that ideological work is not a functional obligation of the political officers alone, it is a cause of all the leading organs and cadres, commanders, political organs, and party organizations.

The new tasks that have to be solved in ideological work require the commanders, political organs, and party leaders to work even more persistently to accelerate and deepen the restructuring of ideological work itself.

The report then pointed out that the task for radical and overall renewal presents serious demands regarding strengthening the intellectual link with personnel, without violating the principle of single command. Now it is especially important for the command personnel to develop the skill of talking openly and unaffectedly and conducting a dialogue with subordinates and trainees. If should be definitely stressed that ideological activity as a whole, with its inherent forms, provides many opportunities for the unrestricted use of dialogue as a tested method for investigating the sociopsychological climate within the collectives and the moods and issues that stir people.

Combined political days, individual political work, discussions, "roundtables", and other means should be applied and utilized even more widely. These are exceptionally important and effective ideological forms and approaches for increasing the role and activity of the human factor.

The new tasks and high requirements relating to ideological work demand a rigorous improvement of the leadership of such work by the political organs and party organizations. Ideological work must be characterized by a scientific, realistic, specific, and systematic approach.

The stimulation of the human factor in order to accelerate the restructuring process presupposes a scientifically grounded cadre policy which, in the spirit of the decisions of the BCP National Conference, should promote the creation of "cadres of a new type and leaders of a new type," who are able to realistically assess the factors and phenomena, "sense" trends in their infancy, and reveal and resolve the contradictions in the interest of restructuring.

The building up of highly trained, efficient, and experienced military cadres is a constant concern of the Communists in the leadership staff of the Ministry of National Defense, the Armed Forces, the military educational establishments, the commanders, political workers, and party leaderships. In recent years an improvement has occurred in the entire work of selecting, training, and educating the officers and sergeants to perfect the style and methods of their work.

When working with the cadres one should take into account that the previous stereotype for thinking, style, attitude, and conduct has spread its roots deep within the work of certain cadres, and it must be resolutely rooted out.

One of the most important directions in the whole of cadre policy is improving the work of the military education establishments, commanders, political organs, and party organizations **relating to advancing the officers and sergeants in their profession.**

The cadres at all levels, the report of the BPA Main Political Administration states, must **establish a Leninist style of work,** taking into account the features of this style that are adequate for the new tasks—a feeling for the new, a businesslike approach, a display of initiative, responsibility, strict implacability toward shortcomings, and high criteria for evaluating results. Such a style, based on the principle of single command and extreme strictness, in combination with the daily display of care for and attention to people, forms in them a love for Army work and for their occupational speciality, which are stable motives for growth in their military profession.

It has become increasingly necessary to overcome certain contradictions and **formalism,** which has become rooted in the stimulation of the cadres. In the field of providing moral and material incentives for servicemen's labor, we need new approaches and new constructive solutions, confirmed in the relevant normative documents, in the spirit of the requirements of the new model of socialism for combining public, collective, and individual interests, for justice, and for care and concern for people.

The elevating of the social environment under Army conditions to a qualitatively new level is an important condition for increasing the role of and stimulating the human factor.

The BCP, starting from the chief goal of its entire policy, namely the people's prosperity, displays systematic concern for solving the social problems in the BPA as well. The party and government are allocating sufficient means to achieve this goal. The Ministry of National Defense has drawn up and is implementing an entire social program for improving servicemen's everyday life, satisfying more fully their material and intellectual needs, and creating optimum conditions for training and education, work and recreation.

The approach required in the social sphere is one based on the long term, taking into account the requirements of today and tomorrow, of science and public opinion, and the forces and allocated means must be utilized as effectively as possible. Resolving these issues depends to a large extent on the commanders, political organs, and party organizations, and on the atmosphere of democratization and glasnost in the Army.

The implementation of restructuring requires that we **extend and deepen the democratization of all Army life.** Democratization is an important political issue that is organically tied to the revolutionary restructuring under way in all fields of social life.

Later the report states that **the democratic approach is not only a necessary, but an obligatory condition for our Army's normal functioning,** a condition that stems from the Army's socialist, popular character. **Not only does it not contradict the principle of single command, instead it supplements and strengthens it as single command on a party basis.** The specific nature of the Army organism inevitably produces its own reflection on democratization, but it can in no way do away with the need for such democratization. **It is necessary to instill in the personnel an understanding of democratization in Army conditions as a dialectical unity of single command, firm discipline, and execution of tasks without fail, on the one hand; and of the broad, conscious participation of the people, the troops at large, and, first and foremost, the party organizations, on the other—in solving all the tasks relating to the training and combat readiness of the troops. The specific conditions of the Army demand that the democratization of the soldiers' life be carried out within the framework of the statutes and regulations.**

The report points out that the Communists, party organizations, and political organs must assist to the maximum degree **in elevating the role and place of the single commander as the most important factor in the life of the soldiers' collectives.** Every commander and soldier must form the conviction that, even under the conditions of

democratization, single command is a fundamental principle in building up the Army and commanding the troops, and that the commander's orders are law for his subordinates.

The expansion of democracy requires a radical change in the attitude **toward people and really working with them,** with each individual, abandoning talking in general and directive methods, and changing over to everyday intercourse between the commanders and political officers and the soldiers. This will strengthen the soldiers' belief in the party and the command, and will create in them an aspiration to take an active part in putting the party's policies into practice under Army conditions.

The party organizations and political organs must devote special concern to **encouraging, supporting, and defending the soldiers' intelligent initiative, innovation, creativity, and energy in carrying out the assignments.**

The process of democratization of Army life increases the need **to create in the Communists, especially those occupying key leading positions, the skills to work in an atmosphere of broad glasnost.** In addition to the conferences, glasnost should take its proper place at the general meetings of the collectives, at the sessions of honor and comrades' courts, in the work of the state and people's control organs, at open court proceedings, and so forth. At such meetings the truth must be stated openly, and criticism and the unmasking of weaknesses and shortcomings must be carried out without any covering up or smoothing over of any kind, without fear of a clash, and without any wrong-headed concern for maintaining the authority of any member of the collective whosoever.

The Communists among the leading personnel, the report emphasizes, **should appear more frequently among the collectives and openly put to them acute and pressing questions** concerning combat readiness, training, discipline, problems of a social, everyday, and intellectual nature, and so on.

The democratization of Army life demands **a new approach to the issues of social justice in the soldiers' collectives and of making fuller use of the possibilities of public opinion in this respect.**

It is necessary to devote systematic concern **to preserving socialist legality and to ensuring the implementation, in dialectical unity, of the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of everyone at his post,** in accordance with his service obligations.

The political organs and party leaderships must continue their work of transforming the party organizations into a school for democracy and glasnost, a model and an example for democratization in the Army.

The profound and essentially revolutionary transformations being carried out in the country and the Army are proceeding under the direct leadership of the BCP. The party's leading role in the restructuring process objectively demands that we, the Communists of the Army, should discuss in depth the state and militancy of our party organizations and delineate the new tasks relating to developing the party organizations' creative possibilities, strength, and skill in taking the lead in the renewal processes now being carried out.

Later the report notes that in fulfilling the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress much diverse work has been completed, under the direct leadership of the BPA Main Political Administration and the political organs in the BPA, to explain the trends and effect the restructuring of party-organizational work. The decisions of the July and November 1987 plenums of the BCP Central Committee, and especially the decisions of the BCP National Conference, gave a fresh impetus to this process.

The support for the policy for qualitatively new growth is gradually turning into organized and purposeful practical activity. The spirit and the requirements of democratization of the life and work of the party organizations are already breaking through the conservative models and stereotypes that have accumulated over the years. The atmosphere is changing in the party collectives. Glasnost is gaining strength. Now the Communists state their views and reflections more freely and openly, criticize more boldly, and point out weaknesses, those guilty of them, and the ways to eliminate them.

The accountability-election meetings and conferences that were held convincingly confirmed **the increased role and authority of the Army party organizations** and their readiness to practically implement the processes of restructuring in the Army.

The stimulation of the entire organizational and political work **on further increasing the vanguard role of the Communists** and establishing them as the party's political fighters and organizers of the personnel has exerted a positive effect on strengthening the militancy of the party organizations, the report states.

The work of the political organs and party organizations **on improving the quality of the party's personnel** is more systematic and goal-oriented.

In accordance with the contemporary party requirements, **the role and influence of the party organizations have increased in the course of building up and developing the cadres.** In addition to the participation of the party secretaries in certification and the examination of cadre issues, discussions are already being obligatorily employed at meetings of primary party organizations on the subject of party performance reports on Communists for whom cadre changes are envisaged.

Positive changes are taking place **in the party leadership of the Komsomol.** The work of a number of party committees, bureaus, and organizations has acquired broader scope and efficiency. They are looking more

systematically and in greater depth into the problems of the Komsomol organizations and societies, and assisting them more closely in restructuring their activity and strengthening their ideological and organizational work.

However, the changes being carried out in party work are still at their initial stage, and the rates at which they are being implemented do not fully meet the contemporary party requirements.

The report of the BPA Main Political Administration states that the efforts of the political organs and party organizations should be directed at implementing radical changes in the content, style, forms, and means of party-organizational activity in order to bring it completely into line with the requirements of the BCP National Conference and the July Concept.

Party-organizational activity must now create a new political, moral, and ideological climate in the party and soldiers' collectives, a climate that will ensure the successful carrying out of the party's strategic policy for qualitatively new growth, concretely specify the party's requirements concerning restructuring, bring them to the awareness of every Communist and soldier, and make them a fateful personal issue for everyone.

The dynamics and scope of restructuring in the BPA are directly related to **the militancy and responsibility of the primary party organizations of the Army.**

The further development of the vanguard role of the Communists in the Army is a crucial condition for increasing the militancy of the party organizations.

Manifestations of liberalism must be rigorously eliminated and **party strictness increased,** while strengthening the political and educative nature of this strictness.

It is necessary to further stimulate the work of improving **the quality of the party personnel,** in close connection with the problem of increasing the vanguard role of the Communists.

The party organizations must uncompromisingly rid themselves of all people who do not want to restructure themselves, who do not want to work at the high level of the new requirements, or who, as a result of their education, their conduct at work, in public and private life, or their moral image, are unworthy of the high title of party member.

The report emphasizes that man, as a creator, organizer, executor, and consumer, must be placed in the center of the entire activity of the party. One must apply in a responsible and creative manner the requirement of the BCP National Conference that one must work with each man in particular, get to know and take account of his capabilities and problems, his interests and needs, and show respect for his human merits.

All this requires that **the social emphasis of party work** should be sharply increased. Every party organization must have a clear vision and a political standpoint regarding solving the most important problems of the collective and the people composing it, and **establish itself as a protector of the fundamental interests of the servicemen,** while steadfastly defending the interests of the party, society, and the Army as a whole.

In conclusion, the report of the BPA Main Political Administration states: As was pointed out at the BCP National Conference, the party is taking up a task broad in scale, namely to bring our society into a qualitatively new state. The tried and tested detachment of the party in the BPA—the Army Communists—have unreservedly and dedicatedly, with full responsibility and all their energy, engaged in this cause. The decisions of the conference are a clear signpost for our forward advance.

We are confident that, in the fight for restructuring, the Communists and the entire personnel of the BPA will display in a most convincing manner their boundless devotion and limitless love for the BCP and its vital April general line, the line of restructuring.

For persistent, dedicated labor to fulfill to the end the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the BCP National Conference; for in-depth, all-embracing restructuring in all spheres of Army life; and for achieving new, even greater successes in increasing the combat readiness and combat and political training of the BPA!

Defense Minister Dzhurov Speaks

AU0205060188 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Apr 88 pp 1, 3

["Statement by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense" and member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo at the 16th All-Army BCP Conference in Sofia on 26 April]

[Text] Comrades delegates and guests, our party conference is taking place after the BCP National Conference.

As we all know, the BCP National Conference confirmed the concept developed by the July plenum and directed the entire party and all people to adopt a broad-fronted offensive to implement this concept.

With its decisions, the BCP National Conference established the foundations for further accelerating restructuring in all spheres of our life.

The BCP National Conference determined that the BCP is the main strike force in making this great transition to mastering both the national and global aspects of the natural laws, mastering and introducing the achievements of scientific-technical progress, and articulating the role of the human factor in implementing the revolution that has become our cause.

In general the BCP National Conference decisions fully apply to the work of the Communists under the conditions of the BPA.

This circumstance and the contemporary international situation compel us to analyze carefully the general aspects of all our previous work, as well as the level of our combat readiness and the results of our efforts to restructure ourselves in the spirit of the 13th BCP Congress decisions. In this way we will be able to determine those additional directions, tasks, and undertakings that must become a part of our future program, and then determine the efforts of the military to implement our comprehensive program.

In this line of thought I would like to stress that during the preparations for the 13th BCP Congress, and especially after the adoption of its decisions, we, the leadership of the BPA, tried to grasp the historical essence of these decisions.

We strived to study the decisions and then draw conclusions for ourselves, the Army Communists, in everything related to the nature of the tasks which must be implemented using the efforts of the entire military. We held meetings, conferences, and consultations of activists, and I am confident that we correctly determined the directions and content of our work. We compiled a draft program to serve as the basis of our annual, 5-year, and longer-range planning. In addition, in drawing up the program we tried to take into consideration the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution and our new defensive doctrine, with which all our work has to be coordinated, and we bore in mind the nature of a future modern war.

In this context I should like to point out that the matter of introducing the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution is one of the essential priority directions of our program. It is a task and direction that are of exceptional importance in accelerating the implementation of the program as a whole. It will have an impact on bringing about the much desired turning point in all aspects of our activity and solving the main problem of the BPA—raising the level of combat readiness of the troops to a qualitatively new level and achieving a qualitatively new turning point.

It was Marx who predicted that science would turn into a direct production force, while production would acquire the character of a scientific experiment.

I should like to note that Comrade Todor Zhivkov was quick to point out that microelectronics and computer equipment, and in a more general context the data processing industry as the most vivid illustration of the synthesis between science, data processing, and the computer, are the main lever and driving force of the modern scientific-technical revolution. It is well known that this synthesis is the foundation for the restructuring of the economies of the highly developed countries and the creation of the so-called science-consuming branches that are creating an ever increasing proportion of gross national product.

The synthesis of science, data processing, and computer equipment has a particularly strong impact on military theory and practice. The changes it gives rise to in every aspect of the field of military affairs are so profound and comprehensive that they are essentially producing a real leap forward in its development.

The general use of electronic data processing technologies is increasingly becoming a main feature of the buildup and training of the Armed Forces. Microelectronics, computers, and modern computing equipment integrally combined with the appropriate mathematical, linguistic, and program factors multiply the striking power of the weapons systems; completely transform the material base of study, practical training, and all aspects of supplying the troops; strongly expand the dimensions of military intelligence; and so forth. Thanks to them and solely as a result of the achievements in this field it is possible to solve successfully the ever more complicated problem of managing the troops and directing the fire of the means of armed combat. Guided and self-guided weapons, and above all the intelligent striking systems and complexes, which have integrated within themselves the means of intelligence, striking, and guidance, are the ultimate in the military application of military computer technology, including elements of artificial intelligence.

What is the BPA doing to apply scientific achievements and facilitate the synthesis of science, data processing, and computer equipment?

In fairness, we have to say that this sphere of our activity has been developing since the early eighties and continues to develop extremely rapidly. While there are many factors that determine the dynamics of this situation, the main one is the wise policy of the party, which aims to strengthen the participation of our country in the world scientific-technical revolution, and more specifically in developing and introducing computer and communications equipment and creating modern information systems and technologies.

Designing and creating automated management systems occupies a central place in our efforts to increase the combat power and readiness of the troops on the basis of the general use of data processing methods.

Our participation in creating automated systems for the management of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states is very active. Certain successes have also been achieved in developing automated weapons-guidance systems.

Many of the participants in this forum have had an opportunity to see the exhibition devoted to this subject.

The introduction of electronic systems in the material base of study of the higher educational establishment and in the Army is another important factor that has allowed us to sharply intensify the study process and increase its efficiency, while at the same time achieving significant savings in motorized resources and financial resources. Revolutionary transformations are taking place in the methods of study and education.

The third direction in our activity in the sphere of automation is related to increasing the social productivity and profitability of the economic organization of the Ministry of National Defense through the introduction of numerically controlled machines, automatic modules, and higher-level automated production systems. Such systems already exist in many of our plants.

We have constructed computer centers and created the first automated systems. Machines of the integrated series, including fourth generation systems have already been introduced into management bodies of the BPA. Several local and regional networks have been developed. A large number of software products have been developed and this has significantly improved the efficiency of the bodies that manage the Army. With the appearance of fifth generation systems we shall gradually advance toward information processing systems.

Comrades, I have dwelt on these issues and aspects of our future plan-program in detail because I think that the party organizations and political organs must make it one of their main tasks to create a climate conducive to the best possible mastering of data processing technologies and the widest possible introduction of them in all aspects of military practice.

While stressing the role and place of the scientific-technical revolution in the future of the BPA, I would also like to present some general considerations related to our future general program as a whole.

I must stress that restructuring our entire activity in the spirit of the requirements of the 13th BCP Congress and the National Conference while solving the main task of the BPA, namely raising the combat readiness of the troops to a qualitatively new level, is the core of our future program.

We updated, clarified, and supplemented this program after each BCP Central Committee plenum, and especially after the July and November plenums and the BCP National Conference. It was on this basis that the various sections of the Ministry of National Defense, the various branches of the Armed Forces, and the tactical units developed their working plans.

Thus as far as the future program for the directions, tasks, undertakings, consistency of implementation, and stages of implementation are concerned, the BPA is well prepared. We have all this in our hands. The factors involved with implementing this program are present here. They are the commanding and political personnel of the BPA. They are the Army Communists.

As I have already pointed out, the strategy of this program and its principle essence and content are aimed at raising the combat readiness of the BPA to a qualitatively new level.

The efforts and the main drive for implementing this course in the BPA have been directed toward sharply restructuring the practical aspects of the style and methods of work of the commanding personnel, the political organs, and the party, Komsomol, and trade union organs and organizations in order to raise to a qualitatively new level all command-organizational activity in implementing the entire troop training-combat program in a high-quality manner.

We have always understood clearly that without improving the style and methods of work of the commanders, political organs, and party, Komsomol, and trade union organs and organizations, especially those working at the center and in the operational units, and raising them to a qualitatively new level, it would be impossible to implement our plan-program and raise the combat readiness of the BPA to a qualitatively new level.

What do the results of our work during the last 2 years show?

The report and statements of the delegates contained a profound and critical analysis of the work of the Communists in the BPA in implementing the tasks during these 2 years, and especially in analyzing the results of the winter 1988 period. I fully support this analysis, which is contained in the report of the Main Political Administration.

Strong and serious criticism was addressed to the commanders and political units, the primary party organizations in their horizontal and vertical structure, and especially to officials personally. This criticism was justly related to the slow pace of restructuring and the incomplete and legalistic way the tasks were implemented. While I was not criticized personally in the report or in the statements of the comrades, I would like to point out that the criticism in the report and statements fully applies to me, because the minister is responsible for all aspects of the situation in the BPA. I support this justifiable criticism.

These weaknesses, incomplete developments, and incomplete implementation of the tasks could be observed in the training of the troops during the winter period.

They are related to the work of managing the troops, organizing all aspects of the study-educational process and general aspects of discipline, and so forth.

Undoubtedly, I could reveal many other distortions in our command-organizational activity, both in its horizontal and vertical aspects. However, I think that these are sufficient, since many more have been presented in the report and the statement, and thus I can make several essential conclusions about our work in the last 2 years in the struggle for restructuring in the spirit of the 13th BCP Congress decisions.

We can make the following very general conclusions on the basis of our work during the past 2 years and the winter period:

The first essential conclusion is that we have correctly determined the directions, tasks, and projects of our plan-program, and have taken the first serious steps not only in mastering and understanding the need for restructuring and convincing ourselves internally that it is justified, but also in the practical aspects of restructuring itself, in all horizontal and vertical units. As a result we have raised the combat readiness of the BPA to a higher level.

The second conclusion is that our entire military is seriously advancing with a keen sense of responsibility along a broad front and is conducting a struggle to bring about a turning point in restructuring in the outlined directions and tasks.

The third conclusion, which is very important for our future work, is that we are now facing a serious and systematic struggle to overcome significant weaknesses and shortcomings at all levels of the Army, which have been mentioned in the report and the statements of the delegates, and which I mentioned earlier.

This conclusion compels us with exceptional force to implement the responsible task of intensifying along a broad front our efforts, the efforts of the entire military—commanders, political organs, and party, Komsomol, and trade union organs and organizations—so that the process of restructuring the BPA can proceed at a faster rate.

What do we need to do further in order to achieve the desired turning point: accelerating restructuring and raising combat readiness to a qualitatively new level?

First, we must study the BCP National Conference decisions even more profoundly in order to acquire from them the approach we need in our work to implement the directions, tasks, and undertakings contained in the program that has been drawn up, and which I mentioned earlier when I spoke about restructuring all aspects of our activity.

Second, we must develop democracy and glasnost in the BPA even more broadly. In this context we must mercilessly criticize all distortions, weaknesses, and shortcomings, and those responsible for them. There must be a place for this activity of ours in the official meetings, officer and sergeant councils, and especially in the primary party organizations, the Komsomol and trade union and organizations organs, and in our entire work. Democracy, glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism are powerful levers in the hands of the commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organs and organizations, and must be a constant feature of the style and method of work of the entire military.

Third, we must develop our ideological-political and party-political work on a broad front in order to raise the level of awareness in everyone of the qualitatively new level and increase the sense of being complete and prudent managers of the combat equipment and weapons.

I will turn to another subject for a while. Through the 9 September 1944 Revolution, the BCP placed property in the hands of the soldiers and the Communists working in the Armed Forces which they were to manage and administer. The very act of the revolution placed this property in their hands, and consequently our attitude toward this property must be the attitude of good managers, who understand that through this they are ensuring the peaceful development of our socialist motherland.

As I said earlier, the BCP National Conference clearly and precisely determined the directions and tasks involved in implementing, on a national scale and in an accelerated manner, the concept and model developed by the BCP Central Committee.

It determined the role and place of the BCP as the strike force in the renewing process of restructuring, a process which is revolutionary in essence.

It determined the role and place of the human factor.

These premises fully apply to the Communists working in the BPA and to our entire military. These premises must be asserted in our approach toward the style and methods of our work, and must become the core and thrust of our work.

Still, what specifically do the decisions of the BCP National Conference require from us at the present stage?

Comrade delegates, while I run the risk of repeating some of the premises contained in the report and the statements, nevertheless I would once again like to stress emphatically some essential aspects of our future work and struggle to implement a turning point in our entire activity in 1988.

How are we to continue and what roads shall we follow in the future?

Obviously, we must first consistently and insistently continue our main activity—to work systematically for our own restructuring as the main strike force, and as a subjective factor. Because of the characteristic tasks of working in the BPA, and the regulations based on laws, charters, and instructions, we are the ones who have been entrusted with the function of being the main strike force, the fundamental factor, and the main factor in maintaining a constant and high level of combat readiness in the BPA, through which we ensure peaceful conditions for developing our motherland.

Second, we must even more consistently and insistently continue the accelerated buildup of the comprehensive and broad aspects of military order in the BPA, in a strict manner, according to the requirements of the regulations, charters, and instructions.

This means quickly eliminating weaknesses and strictly applying the basic regulations to everyday military life, to training material, and to housing; to internal, patrol, and guard duty; and to accountability for material means, for mess halls, food storage, warehouses, and so forth. In other words, we must raise the soldiers' objective living and training conditions to a qualitatively new level. We must continue to work at an accelerated pace following the directions incorporated in our program for high quality in the implementation of the tasks determined by the ministerial orders and the study-combat plans and programs.

The task related to the high quality of our combat readiness imperatively requires the comprehensive implementation of the plans and programs of the operational, combat, and political training of the troops in 1988.

Third, this requires the accelerated implementation of our program, especially the part related to introducing the achievements of scientific-technical progress in all aspects of training and managing the troops and means, developing and introducing new means of armed combat, and so forth.

Fourth, this means improving the efficiency of the entire ideological-educational and party-political work to increase the level of awareness of the entire military collective.

In the final analysis, as I stressed earlier, it is necessary to sharply improve the style and methods of our work; the command-organizational and party-political work of the command and political personnel; and the party, Komsomol, and trade union organs and organizations to a qualitatively new level, in order to implement our plan-program as well as the BCP order to carry out restructuring under the conditions of the BPA.

These factors are a powerful force under the conditions of the BPA. Let us take the officer corps as an example: They all have higher and engineering education. Only about 0.01 percent of them do not have higher education, and 98 percent are party members. Let us look at the sergeants and petty officers: They are reenlisted personnel, graduates of high schools for sergeants, 35 percent of them are party members, and so forth. As you can see, this is a great force. If we activate it, it will move a mountain, let alone carry out restructuring.

However, the planned, organized, and competent manner; high degree of demandingness; and high discipline in implementing every task and undertaking must be the main element, the core and style of these factors. The method of clarifying every task of our comprehensive activity, evaluating the situation in which the task is to be carried out, ensuring the forces and means for its implementation, and drawing the appropriate conclusions and plan-decisions related to implementation, all of which have been tested both in peacetime and under war conditions, must become an essential characteristic of our style.

Also in this context our main drive must be channeled in a practical direction, in a differentiated manner, in the units and detachments, everywhere where the fate of combat readiness is being decided.

The complete implementation of the functional duties, competent assistance, a high level of demandingness in all directions, and an iron military discipline in its broad aspect, must be the core of this approach. In this context, in the context of discipline, I would like to stress one of its most essential aspects at the present stage of our restructuring.

Comrades, the processes of restructuring and renewal that are taking place in the BPA in implementing our program place the issue of military discipline in a new light and raise its role in the broad aspect to an exceptional level.

This means that by declaring war on the distortions, weaknesses, and shortcomings, by developing broad democracy and glasnost under military conditions we must elevate military discipline to a cult and an essential characteristic of our style and method of work and of our command-organizational activity. This means that in everything and everywhere the core of our activity must be determined by the requirements of the principles of building up the Armed Forces. These principles are outlined in the normative documents on the life of the BPA. Under these conditions we can be sure that we shall implement accelerated restructuring under the conditions of the Army.

In conclusion I would like to stress once again that we must find the way to raise the combat readiness of the BPA to a new qualitative level in the constant and systematic improvement of the style and methods of work of the main strike force—the subjective factor.

From our previous work, the results and level of the process of restructuring, and especially from the high level of our party conference I am deeply convinced that we will succeed in achieving a turning point in our work in 1988.

I wish all delegates success in the work of implementing the responsible tasks set for the BPA by the BCP.

Editor Denounces Liberalism

AU011811 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Apr 88 p 3

[Speech delivered by Colonel Orlin Orlinov, editor in chief of the BULGARSKI VOYN periodical, at the 16th All-Army BCP Conference held on 26 April]

[Text] Dear Communists, I take the floor at the 16th All-Army BCP Conference, in order to share some of my own thoughts on the role, place, and state of the military artistic-creative intelligentsia in the difficult sphere of intellectual restructuring.

A strong, united, and efficient unit of artists, singers, painters, journalists, writers, composers, research workers, and custodians of nationwide cultural treasures is working in the BPA with selfless devotion. Are they just civil servants? No, they are the strong core of our entire national culture, they resemble a hard nut, which traitors of the motherland and cheap mercenaries have often tried to crack without success, breaking their teeth on it.

I do not know and have never heard that in any Western country the government or the ruling party has set as its permanent task to care for and to educate an army intelligentsia. I happened to observe the amazed expressions on the faces of Western writers in seeing posters or inscriptions saying "Theater of the People's Army," "Military Publishing House," or "Song and Dance Company of the People's Army," or when they met and talked with distinguished authors from the group of military writers and composers.

The cultural institutions of the BPA and the care for their very existence represent incontestable proof of the foresight and democratic principles of the BCP and of its Central Committee, of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, our deeply respected general secretary.

We are Army Communists and our professional duty according to the Army Statute is to be totally aware of the postulates, intentions, and plans of the enemy, to be always in a state of first rate combat readiness, so that no one may imagine, even in his dreams, that he can take us by surprise, outwit us, or prevent us from accomplishing our national and Warsaw Pact duty.

The military artistic-creative intelligentsia has a real share in making this readiness effective, in keeping alive the love for the motherland, in preventing the flame of dreams from being extinguished, in keeping the red flower of the communist ideal from withering, as some people would wish. The creative artists in the Army, guided by the precise, accurate, and correct leadership of their Main Political Administration, were capable of preserving a sober calm; they did not yield to the temptation to don the camouflaged breastplates of the demagogues, to inflate themselves like peacocks in the manner of those "patriots" and "humanitarians" who are deceiving themselves and trying to deceive the entire people, by pretending to be the only ones who really care for Bulgaria, for its forests and valleys, who imagine—one is really amazed at them—that the party and government need moral bells, instead of discipline, action, and implementation of the planned program on improving the ecological situation. According to the Statute of the BPA, the Army is not allowed to ring bells, but instead we have our battle trumpet, which we always keep under our pillows....

I am proud that my comrades and colleagues from the sphere of Army culture and journalism demonstrated their communist way of thinking, that they have preserved their love for the Soviet Union, without becoming accomplices in the well-concocted plot to prove that the history of the Soviet Union consisted almost entirely of shortcomings and horrors, as if Lenin had not existed, as if no Soviet state had existed, as if there were no Soviet people, who were working, and who produced tanks, aircraft, and "katyushas" under the open skies, as if no Red Army had existed which destroyed the Hitlerite hordes.

You cannot be a banner and set a shining example like Vasil Levski, the lion of the Belgrade legion; like Khristo Botev, the revolutionary leader; like Georgi Benkovski, the winged horseman; like Ivan Vazov, the poet of the Shipka epic; like the junior officers Dimcho Debelyanov and Geo Milev; like Nikola Vaptsarov, the ship engineer and sailor; like Diko Iliev, the sergeant major; you cannot be expected to glorify mountains of military deeds and partisan exploits, which are waiting to be written about, painted, sculpted, and set in music; you cannot be an inspired creative artist of the people—if you debase yourself to the level of the dung heap of cheap gossip, to rumors picked up in cafes, to trivial commentaries, and demagogic compassion.

Regardless of how "old-fashioned, unworthy of the electronic age" it may sound, we have no right to dismount from our horses, because the "last stone of the burning ancient castle of decay" has not yet turned to ashes. However, we must glorify eternal love, and eternal truth in the world. This becomes the honest creative worker, but for the Communist creative worker it is a duty.

Therefore, as soon as the Central Committee asked us to assist it in revealing the face of truth, without wasting time the party organizations of the army cultural institutes reviewed, discussed, and firmly supported Comrade Todor Zhivkov's reflections to the Politburo. None of our meetings proceeded in a spirit of stagnation and

boredom. None of it was held, just because it had to be so. It became evident that the Communists have their own opinions, proposals, and stands on the intellectual sphere. We had the courage to test our moral potential and said that restructuring does not require simply routine devotion, that not pledges and wails, but a change of methods and style is necessary, that order and decency are called for.

Only in this way will our poems and pictures, our songs and books, our films and newspapers, our journals play their role as exponents of the party: if they become more beautiful, more contemporary, more exciting, and more profound. Our eyes should be open to innovation, because it is impossible to perceive and eliminate the outdated and stagnating elements in our ideological work with ready-made formulas and mere talk. We should always remember that times are changing, and that with the times the methods of those who are not so much concerned about the future of socialism are also changing. The boys, our sons and grandsons, who are entering the barracks are also changing. They require that those who are meeting them and seeing them off in Army life should not be coarse soldiers, but highly educated and cultured men. The time has long since passed when a commander's worth was judged by the strength of his bear-like voice.

These demands make the work of the Army creative worker are difficult and complex, and bring him face to face with delicate moral issues. Now you cannot write and sing "Slay Five With One Knife Thrust!" but you have to assist in every way to ensure that five less knives remain. The socialist soldier, in his greatcoat and at his post, actually proves to be the greatest lover of peace.

Our hero, the military man, the commander, and the political officer, is both like and unlike others, because he holds death and destruction in his hands. Moreover, he has to be the following as well:

—a teacher, psychologist, maybe even a psychiatrist;

—an engineer, specialist in a given military field, a living Einstein with first and second degree computer readiness;

—often, a father and mother to his soldiers;

—a counsellor 1,000 times over, including on the soldiers' sufferings in love and their fears of combat service;

—a careful manager and administrator;

—an active figure in culture and amateur artistic creativity;

—a creator of a communist atmosphere in his unit; and

—the bearer and inspirer of staunch hatred for all harmful aspects of capitalism, and to have the knack for not being extreme or naive.

And he is also a human being, he gets married, falls in and out of love, he has children, and has a soul. And you see, even Lieutenant Khristov, who tramps about the rocky peaks, feels like drinking a cup of coffee at the Sheraton Hotel, despite the strict instructions of the comrade minister. We must celebrate this stamina.

There are subjects for our work, God has provided problems and plots, and I give you my word as a poet and officer that, as long as we serve under the flag, my comrades and I will guard the purity of literature, music, and publicist writing against dross and feebleminded-ness, we will seek new forms of struggle against the "spiritual AIDS" in order to make our creative Army a modern one in its composition and possibilities, with manly steadfastness and bearing the flag in our souls.

The cultural workers of the Army are quite clear about the direction in which they have to go.

They will not let their party down.

Conference Closes

AU0205173988 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Apr 88 pp 1,3

[Report by Colonel Ivan Ganchev and Major Gyubomir Denov on the closing of the 16th All-Army BCP Conference held on 26 April in Sofia]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In his closing speech Col Gen Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the BPA, drew the conclusion that the 16th All-Army BCP Conference had turned into a meaningful, focused, and exceptionally useful discussion which provided us with knowledge and experience, equipped us with the firm resolve to accelerate the restructuring process within the BPA. The conference proceeded in a spirit of strict discipline and in a businesslike manner, entirely in the spirit of the BCP National Conference. The conference confirmed the unanimity of thoughts and cohesion of the Army Communists around the BCP policy line, and will greatly contribute to the implementation of the party projects under Army life conditions.

Today the necessity has emerged to expand extensive organization, political, and educational work, in order to transfer the spirit and ideas of the All-Army BCP Conference to the soldiers' collectives.

The conference adopted a decision and elected a party commission.

Following this, Col Gen Mitko Mitkov closed the All-Army Conference.

Defense Minister's 1 May Order of the Day

AU0205191288 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Apr 88 p 1

["Order of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Minister of National Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria" and Member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, on 1 May]

[Text] Comrade Officers, Generals, and Admirals;

Comrade soldiers, sailors, sergeants, and petty officers;

Comrade workers, technologists, engineers, and employees of the military enterprises and departments, soldiers of the reserve service:

The working people of our country greet 1 May—the combat holiday of labor and international solidarity of the working people—with their creative activity. Through their successes, the working people are putting into effect the historical decisions of the 13th BCP Congress, the BCP Central Committee July and November plenums, and the National Party Conference. They are selflessly working to fully carry out the profound restructuring of all spheres of life which has already begun, and to turn the People's Republic of Bulgaria into a highly developed and civilized socialist state.

The collectives of the military enterprises greet 1 May with new achievements in implementing the production plans and programs.

Shoulder to shoulder with the workers, the agricultural workers, and the people's intelligentsia, the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army are marking 1 May with high results in their combat and political training. On this bright holiday, they express their solidarity with the struggles of the workers class in the capitalist countries for peace and social justice.

Without any reservations, the soldiers and commanders support the peaceful foreign policy of the USSR, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the countries of the socialist community, aimed at averting thermonuclear war. Simultaneously, they clearly understand their great responsibility for defending peace and socialism in the contemporary complicated international situation.

The personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army invest their knowledge and efforts in bringing about a profound restructuring in all spheres of military life and raising the troops' combat readiness to a qualitatively new stage. They are always ready to decisively oppose every aggressor, together with the armies of the Warsaw Pact member-states and the invincible Armed Forces of the USSR.

Comrade soldiers and commanders;

Comrade workers, employees, technologists, and engineers of the military units, departments, and plants, and soldiers of the reserve forces:

I greet you most cordially on 1 May—the holiday of labor and international solidarity of the working people.

I wish you and your families good health and new successes in your highly noble and responsible activity in constructing and defending our socialist motherland.

To mark 1 May—the day of international solidarity of the working people

I ORDER

That there be festive illuminations on 1 May in Sofia, the capital city of our motherland, the oblast centers, and the city of Sliven.

Long live 1 May—the day of international solidarity of the working people!

Long live fraternal friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the countries of the socialist community and their armies!

Long live the heroic and diligent Bulgarian people and their universally recognized leader—the BCP!

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense.

Federal Assembly Joint Session Opens

LD0305102188 Prague CTK in English 0840 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Prague May 3 (CTK) — The 9th joint session of the House of the People and the House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly started here today.

Deputies will discuss the program statement of the Czechoslovak Government which will be presented by Premier Lubomir Strougal.

Present at the session of the Czechoslovak parliament are highest party and state representatives.

Japanese LDP Leader Abe Pays Official Visit

Arrives 2 May

OW0205145688 Tokyo KYODO in English 1212 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Prague, May 2 KYODO — Japan's Liberal Democratic Party Secretary General Shintaro Abe arrived here Monday from Tokyo via London on the first leg of a nine-day, three-nation European tour which will also take him to Hungary and France.

Abe meets with Czechoslovakia's Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes later in the day.

The former Japanese foreign minister will visit Budapest Wednesday through Friday and return to Tokyo Monday after a layover in France.

Meets With Bilak

OW0205194688 Tokyo KYODO in English 1626 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Prague, May 2 KYODO—Czechoslovakia's No. 2 man Vasil Bilak on Monday promised his help for South Korea's successful hosting of the Seoul Olympics this fall, Japanese officials said.

Bilak, the secretariat member of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, made the promise in response to a request from Japan's Liberal Democratic Party Secretary General Shintaro Abe.

Abe met with Bilak soon after his arrival in Prague before going into talks with Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes.

Bilak expressed opposition to terrorist attacks against the Seoul Olympics due to start September 17 and to last through October 2.

Abe praised moves toward East-West detente promoted by the signing late last year of a superpower treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear force (INF) weapons.

Bilak also called for closer exchanges in the economic, cultural and technological fields, the officials said.

Abe, who left Tokyo Sunday, is on a nine-day visit to Europe which will take him later to Hungary and France.

Meets With Jakes

LD022195 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today received Shintaro Abe, secretary general of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, who heads a group of liberal-democratic deputies of the Japanese Parliament on a short visit to Czechoslovakia. Milos Jakes informed the guest about the fundaments of the changes being carried out in the interest of accelerating the economic and social development of the country. At the same time, he gave particular attention to progress in the restructuring of the national economy and the wide democratization of society.

Speaking of the present international situation, they pointed out the beneficial nature of constructive dialogue, which help to remove the threat of nuclear war and to preserve peace in the world. Both representatives expressed support for the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the liquidation of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. They expressed themselves in favor of a general ban on chemical weapons and of a considerable reduction in conventional arms. Milos Jakes and Shintaro Abe also evaluated perspectives of Czechoslovak-Japanese relations.

The same day, Shintaro Abe and the group of Japanese deputies were received by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, who informed them about the main tasks of Czechoslovak foreign policy. The two sides also exchanged views on the development of the present international situation and the possibilities of widening Czechoslovak-Japanese relations.

Discusses COCOM Restrictions

OW0305084688 Tokyo KYODO in English 0717 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Prague, May 3 KYODO — Czechoslovakian Communist Party leader Milos Jakes expressed interest in more high-tech trade with Japan on Monday, saying that Tokyo should relax controls on nonsensitive exports to communist countries.

Japanese officials said Jakes voiced concern about the trade-inhibiting effect of the West's trade regulatory agency COCOM in talks with Shintaro Abe, secretary general of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party.

Abe, a former foreign minister, arrived in Prague earlier Monday for a three-day visit and met with Jakes following a separate session with Vasil Bilak, the party's no. 2 man.

Jakes, appointed general secretary last December, made the pitch for more high-tech trade after Abe called for closer ties between the two countries, Abe's aides said.

Jakes told Abe that Czechoslovakia is interested in Japan's advanced technology, particularly in the field of electronics, but it is necessary for Japan to remove trade obstacles, citing COCOM as a major obstacle to trade between the East and West.

Japan is a member of the Paris-based COCOM — the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls — a watchdog organization founded by NATO to block the flow of sensitive technologies to communist nations.

"There shouldn't be obstacles, say, in environmental and medical facilities," Jakes said in urging Tokyo to ease COCOM-related export controls.

In his talks with Abe, Bilak said Czechoslovakia will do its best to contribute to the success of the Seoul Olympic Games, which will be held September 17-October 2.

Bilak also called for closer exchanges between Japan and Czechoslovakia in the economic, cultural and technological fields.

Czechoslovakia is the first stop of Abe's nine-day European tour, which will also take him to Hungary and France.

Mozambican Foreign Minister Continues Visit

Holds Talks With Chnoupek

LD021400 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, Mozambican minister of foreign affairs, is in Czechoslovakia on a friendly working visit. This morning he met with Bohuslav Chnoupek for talks on cooperation between the two countries on working toward and setting up a comprehensive system of international peace and security. They noted the full identity of views on the most important issues. Bohuslav Chnoupek gave thanks for the support expressed by Mozambique and by Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi personally for the initiative by Milos Jakes on establishing a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line dividing the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

The basis of mutual contacts between the two countries, the ministers noted, is cooperation between the CPCZ and the Frelimo Party, and the fact that political links are developing means that preconditions are also being created for cooperation in culture, education, science, and health care.

Going on to assess the dangerous developments in southern Africa, the two ministers resolutely condemned the apartheid regime in the RSA which, through its policy of destabilization, was threatening the independent states in the region.

Bohuslav Chnoupek then gave a gala luncheon in honor of Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi.

Chnoupek Speaks at Luncheon

LD021623 Prague CTK in English 1504 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia supports the just and persistent struggle of the Mozambican people for the strengthening of independence, sovereignty and integrity of their country, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek said at a luncheon given in honor of visiting Mozambican Foreign Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi here Monday.

The Czechoslovak minister appreciated Mozambique's support for the national liberation movements in the south of Africa, and its resolute struggle for the liquidation of the inhuman regime of apartheid. He added that Czechoslovakia resolutely condemns the South African regime denying human rights to the African inhabitants, the occupation of Namibia, the aggression against Mozambique and Angola. Bohuslav Chnoupek also pointed to other hotbeds of tension in the world and called for a speedy just and peaceful settlement of the situation there.

The Czechoslovak representative further stated that the international situation is still developing in the spirit of contradictions and disputes, but he expressed belief that after the signing of the historical Washington agreement on the liquidation of two classes of nuclear weapons, other impulses to nuclear, chemical, and conventional disarmament will be given at the forthcoming Moscow summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

Czechoslovakia's efforts at the development and strengthening of the noble ideas of peace were proved also by the proposal for creating a zone of cooperation on the borderline between the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO states submitted by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes during the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Victorious February in Czechoslovakia.

The Mozambican minister appreciated the warm welcome he received from the Czechoslovak officials, and thanked for Czechoslovakia's solidarity with the just struggle of the Mozambican people for freedom and independence.

Dealing with the situation in the south of Africa, he condemned the policy of apartheid and the destabilization course of South Africa against the neighboring countries.

He described the preservation of peace as the most urgent task of the present, and appreciated in this connection the significance of the Washington treaty on the liquidation of medium and shorter-range missiles, and the Czechoslovak initiatives directed towards the strengthening of peace and the development of international cooperation.

Meets With Jakes

LD021938 Prague CTK in English
1714 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Milos Jakes received here today Mozambican Foreign Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, currently on a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia.

The Mozambican minister handed over to Milos Jakes a message from Mozambican President Joaquim Alberto Chissano and highly appreciated the recent Czechoslovak initiative aimed at further detente in central Europe, which contributes to the removal of a nuclear threat in Europe and to the strengthening of security in the whole world.

Milos Jakes stressed Czechoslovakia's principled support for the Mozambican people and all nations in the south of Africa struggling against the aggressive policy of racism and apartheid.

The Mozambican foreign minister was also received by Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Received by Husak

LD021940 Prague CTK in English
1718 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak received here today Mozambican Foreign Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi.

The Czechoslovak and Mozambican representatives stressed that there are prerequisites for a further development of bilateral relations. Dealing with the international situation, they pointed out the identity of opinions on all basic international problems.

Special attention was devoted to the situation in the south of Africa. They condemned the policy of the racist regime of apartheid in the South African Republic and all forms of aggression of the Pretoria regime towards the neighboring states and confirmed their solidarity and support for the national liberation struggle of the people of Namibia.

'Millions' Attend National May Day Rallies

AU0305090588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 May 88 p 1

[Excerpts] Berlin (ND)—On 1 May in big demonstrations millions of GDR citizens underlined their firm determination to achieve high performances for the benefit of the people and to implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. [passage omitted]

More than 750,000 citizens participated in the Berlin May Day rally. They welcomed Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and other members of the party and state leadership, with cordial applause and cheers on the festively decorated Karl-Marx Avenue. [passage omitted]

Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; and Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Werner Felfe, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Schuerer, members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo, joined Erich Honecker on the grandstand. [passage omitted]

New Forint, Zloty Exchange Rates Announced

AU0205152688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Apr 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to information from the press office of the GDR State Bank, new exchange rates will be valid as of 2 May 1988. GDR citizens will get 7 forints for M1 (to date 6.10 forints) for travel to the Hungarian People's Republic and 52.34 zlotys for M1 (to date 41.87 zlotys) for travel to the PPR.

In this context, the daily exchange rates for individual tourist trips to the Hungarian People's Republic will be increased to 220 forints, and the maximum annual amount to 2,650 forints per person.

Sindermann-Led Delegation Ends Portugal Visit

LD301145 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1621 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Lisbon, 29 Apr (ADN)—Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, met with Vitor Crespo, president of the Portuguese Assembly, at the conclusion of a visit of several days to Lisbon by a delegation, led by Sindermann, of the GDR People's Chamber. In the course of their talk, Horst Sindermann said that the contacts with the Portuguese parliamentarians and the results of the visit had been very positive. He characterized the visit as a further step on the path of political dialogue between states of different social orders. Horst Sindermann invited the Portuguese parliament president to visit the GDR. [passage omitted]

The People's Chamber delegation attended a plenary session of the Assembly today where it was welcomed by loud applause from the deputies. [passage omitted]

The People's Chamber delegation ended its visit to Portugal late this afternoon.

Schabowski-Led Delegation Arrives in PRC

LD030950 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0242 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Beijing 3 May (ADN)—An SED delegation led by Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Berlin bezirk executive, arrived in Beijing this morning for political talks. The guests were welcomed at the airport by Li Ximing, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, and by Chen Xitong, state councillor and mayor of Beijing.

The SED delegation also includes Berlin Mayor Erhard Krack.

Meets With CPC Politburo Member

LD030957 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0840 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Beijing 3 May (ADN)—An SED delegation led by Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and first secretary of the Berlin bezirk executive, met Li Ximing, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Beijing municipal party committee, for talks in Beijing today. The delegation had arrived in Beijing on the same day.

In the course of the friendly discussion, Li Ximing spoke in favor of the expansion of the fruitful exchange of opinions and experiences between the two parties and states. The GDR has achieved great success in economic development under the SED leadership and is making an important contribution in the struggle to preserve world peace. Through the reciprocal visits by the highest representatives of the two parties—Erich Honecker's visit to China in 1986, and Zhao Ziyang's to the GDR in 1987—a new stage in bilateral relations had been opened, the Chinese politician said.

Berlin Mayor Erhard Krack and Beijing Mayor and State Councillor Chen Xitong took part in the talks.

SED's Sieber Visits Zimbabwe 29 Apr

Meets With Muzenda

LD301249 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1615 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Harare, 29 Apr (ADN)—Simon Muzenda, acting president of the Republic of Zimbabwe, vice president and second secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), received for a friendly talk in Harare on Friday Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and head of the International Relations Department. The GDR politician conveyed the most cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, which were reciprocated.

The two sides underlined the high state of relations between the two parties and states, which are to be steadily developed, in the interest and for the benefit of the safeguarding of peace, disarmament, and international cooperation. They briefed one another about the experiences of the SED and ZANU-PF in the realization of the resolutions of their parties.

Simon Muzenda reported about the process of union between ZANU-PF and ZAPU-PF [Zimbabwe African People's Union—Patriotic Front] now taking place in Zimbabwe and its crucial import for the future flourishing and development of the country.

Guenter Sieber reported on the comprehensive initiatives of the SED for the realization of the peace program of the socialist states and the meeting for nuclear-free zones taking place in Berlin in June. He presented an invitation from Erich Honecker to Robert Mugabe to attend this meeting. Simon Muzenda emphatically welcomed the initiative of the GDR head of state to convene such a conference.

The SED Central Committee delegation is on a several-day visit in Zimbabwe.

Talks With Mugabe

LD011850 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1508 GMT 1 May 88

[Text] Harare, 1 May (ADN)—Robert Mugabe, head of state of the Republic of Zimbabwe, president and first secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front, received on Sunday in Harare Guenter Sieber, SED Central Committee member and director of the international relations department, for a friendly meeting. Guenter Sieber conveyed the warmest greetings from Erich Honecker, the SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR Council of State chairman. Robert Mugabe recalled his meetings with Erich Honecker and asked for the greetings to be reciprocated just as warmly. The president of Zimbabwe expressed thanks for the invitation from Erich Honecker to the international meeting for nuclear weapons-free zones in Berlin.

The SED Central Committee delegation headed by Guenter Sieber concluded its stay in Zimbabwe on the same day. It visited the southern African country for several days at the invitation of the Central Committee of ZANU-PF.

Syria's Al-Asad Sends Thanks to Honecker

LD022150 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1606 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Berlin 2 May (ADN)—In a message to Erich Honecker, Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party and president of Syria, expressed thanks for the support for the just struggle to liberate the occupied Arab territories and for a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East.

In the message to the SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR Council of State chairman, Hafiz al-Asad restates his conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries will be further consolidated in the coming years. The president thanked Erich Honecker for his congratulations on Syria's national day.

Fejti on 'Deteriorating' Relations With Romania

LD021153 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 2 May 88

["Excerpts" from the NEPSZABADSAG forum at Varosliget—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Editor Attila Szabo] How many more people can come over from Romania, and what will be solved by their coming here?

[MSZMP Secretary Georgiy Fejti] We regard those living outside our borders, and in particular in the neighboring countries, whose mother tongue is Hungarian, as a part of the Hungarian nation. We cannot be indifferent to their fate. It is our view that these citizens whose mother tongue is Hungarian must find their welfare in the countries where they were born. However, it is in these very same countries that it is necessary to secure for them equal rights, including the right to the vernacular, their own culture, and national identity.

We regard it as very regrettable that Hungarian-Romanian relations have been deteriorating for quite some time now. We find it very painful that very harsh assimilation measures were brought in recently. We object to these measures, we regard them as wrong, and we do not regard them as exclusively an internal matter for the country in question. At the same time, I would like to emphasize that it is not in our interests for relations between the two neighboring countries to deteriorate further. We must do everything to find a mutually acceptable solution and see to it that the reasons for the significant resettling should cease to exist in the foreseeable future.

Independent Groups Representatives Form Network

AU0205182688 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1600 GMT 2 May 88

[Mathias Pongratz report]

[Text] In the (?Hag) beer cellar in central Budapest a total of 200 persons gathered to initiate political pluralism in Hungary. The product that they created was named "Network of Independent Initiatives." The groups represented came from all directions. Included were environmentalists from various parts of the country; representatives of charity organizations, such as the (?Seta), a foundation for the support of the poor; religious groups, including Catholic and Protestant pressure groups; representatives of conscientious objectors; professors and scientists preparations for the creation of their own independent trade unions; representatives of minorities, such as Jews and gypsies; and representatives of the independent press, the so-called samizdat publications. Also present were representatives from independent youth clubs which recently founded an umbrella organization that enjoys great popularity. It is said to already number more than 1,000 members in spite of—or rather because of—the condition that applicants must not be members of the official party youth association.

The meeting in the beer cellar in central Budapest was preceeded by a petition that was signed by 1,000 persons who indicated their names and addresses. The participants of the gathering in the Budapest beer cellar carried out with great pleasure the ritual of democratic elections which are so rare in Hungary. A council was elected which in turn will appoint speakers for this new coordinating forum. The participants repeatedly pointed out that the forum was not ordered from above, that it is not a new institution but a center designed to open up new information channels in order to intensify and facilitate the existing exchange of views.

Miklos Haraszti, one of the participants, stated that the meeting's short-term goal is the creation of a broad forum for all independent groups, and the mutual strengthening of these groups in order to protect them against the influence of the authorities and the party. Its long-term goal is political pluralism and a multiparty system in Hungary, which should be achieved by peaceful means, through dialogue, negotiations, and discussions, Haraszti pointed out. Pluralism is currently being realized at a very low level in Hungary. This meeting reflects the tensions and dissatisfaction that have not surfaced in Hungary since 1956. Kadar's popularity has decreased, and his reforms have been halted by an economic crisis. A new generation that has not experienced the 1956 compromise is pushing ahead in a vigorous and uncompromising manner.

Corrupt Police Officials Dismissed

LD022152 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Power often tempts us to use it, to abuse it. The interior minister has relieved high-ranking police officers of their posts. Gyula Publeiner, a colonel in the police and department head in the Interior Ministry, and Police Lieutenant Colonel Ferenc Toth, assistant head of department of the Budapest police headquarters, have maintained relationships with persons suspected of crimes. These relationships are incompatible with their posts. They received gifts of great value from the former chairman of the (?Innosolt) construction industry service small cooperative. An investigation of this former chairman has been underway, based on well-grounded suspicion of his involvement in damaging social properety. Zsigmond Hatti faked invoices and he caused—together with several of his accomplices—damage amounting to several million by doing so. It has also become clear that the cooperative carried out renovation of apartments and building work for the police officers for which the latter did not pay.

Horn Interviewed on Domestic, Foreign Policy

AU290929 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Apr 88 p 2

[Interview with Gyula Horn, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and state secretary for foreign affairs, by Pal Bokor: "Gradual Development Toward Substantial Change"]

[Excerpts] [Bokor] In recent weeks and months, the Western press has covered Hungary perhaps even more intensively than before. As a reminder, the press has reported on a crisis, a mood of crisis, and on the disorder that prevails in Hungarian political life. At the same time it is also true that the Western press has stated that, compared with the other socialist countries, the Hungarian People's Republic continues to lead in the area of political renewal.

[Horn] The foreign media undoubtedly deal with Hungary a lot, with our domestic affairs, and the development of our international relations. This is quite understandable, because our domestic situation has become more difficult and complex, and we are getting ready for a party conference which will have to take a stand on many important problems. Abroad, one can also see that we are having increasing difficulties in the various areas of our economic and social life, and that these are a source of as yet unresolved political and social tensions. [passage omitted]

One can hear several opinions on our situation: "We are in a crisis"; "there are symptoms of a crisis"; "we are advancing toward a crisis"; and so on. What is decisively important for me is the fact that we should find a way out of the crisis, because the need to solve the conflict situations in the social, political, and economic spheres is forcing us to make a choice. If we are not able to meet the foreign and domestic challenges adequately by means of new political impulses, the nation will inevitably be driven to the outer fringes of world development. [passage omitted]

[Bokor] What do you mean by "new political impulses"?

[Horn] Primarily, that we should thoroughly change the system of political institutions, a system which was created when the foundations of socialism were laid down and which is currently already showing all the negative features of an extensive model. The composition and profile of our society, and also our politics and the style of politics have changed considerably in comparison with the first half of the fifties. But the institutional structure which has become rigid obstructs the development of production forces and the reorganization of the economic mechanism; in other words, the superstructure is in conflict with its base.

Within the system of political institutions and under the prevailing conditions, all these things require that we modernize primarily our concept of and practices concerning the leading role of the party. The situation whereby the MSZMP provides detailed guidance and management for the decision making process is untenable, even at our present level of economic and social development. However, from the point of view of further progress, such a situation is even less tenable. At the same time it is vitally important to ensure that the government, the legislature, and mainly the economic units should be free to make decisions. I think it is important that the party should deal with the strategic guidelines and ensure the other political factors that are necessary for them. The government should regulate the political and economic conditions, and parliament should represent the interests of various strata according to the Constitution and supervise the implementation of these interests. In addition to this, and within the new structures, it will be necessary to ensure opportunities for the organizations and movements in society to initiate alternative political ideas within the scope of their specific function as the representatives of interest.

I believe that this manner of thinking is well reflected in the draft policy statement of the party conference. However, it is also obvious that the document needs to be defined much more concretely and that some proposals—mainly those concerning the role of the party—should be defined more clearly. [passage omitted]

I think that, within the framework which ensures the popular nature of power and the basically social nature of ownership and political relations, nothing can be regarded as unchangeable. This idea is also demonstrated in part by the draft policy statement of the party. Thus, we should set in motion and continue processes which are basically evolutionary. If these processes satisfy the new requirements of development, they can ultimately result in revolutionary changes.

[Bokor] To go back to my original question, does Hungary at present, in the same way as in 1968, want to play some leading role among the socialist countries in the sphere of reforms?

[Horn] I can only answer this question with a clear "no," and I am not forced to give this answer by some tactical consideration resulting from false modesty. [passage omitted]

The new signals coming from the Soviet Union are indications and not some kind of instructions for the other socialist countries. The Soviet leadership did not prescribe for us the political guidelines to be followed and methods to be used in socialist construction in the previous period; and this is even less the case now. The parties in the individual countries shape their policies according to their own ideas, potentials, and style. Let me add that this is also true for their evaluation of their own histories.

Consequently, from the point of view of political renewal, we are not at all talking about some kind of leading role assumed by any of the socialist countries. And this is not contradicted by the fact that, due to the importance of the Soviet Union and the PRC in world politics, the reforms under way in these two countries are particularly important from the point of view of social progress. The advancement within national frameworks of those processes that we are dealing with depends, above all, on the objective and subjective conditions prevailing in a given country. It would be foolish or even harmful if Hungary or any other socialist country were to try to describe its own ideas and practice as the only path to success. The importance inherent in mutually studying each other's ideas and experiences only stresses, rather than contradicts, this.

[Bokor] Taking all this into consideration, what do you think are our most important international tasks from the point of view of dealing with our domestic difficulties and tasks?

[Horn] Putting our domestic affairs in order is the most important condition for the preservation of our international prestige, but this order is also essential to maintain the foreign concurrence and support that we need for our renewal. In my opinion, the Soviet Union and several other socialist countries basically want the Hungarian reform efforts to succeed. In comparison with the recent period, this represents both a qualitative change and a strong driving force. We should also collaborate in implementing the new way of thinking in domestic and foreign policy in both our bilateral relations with the socialist countries and at the multilateral forums. Similarly, we should also find joint and national solutions to promote our adjustment to the changed conditions of world economy. [passage omitted]

Our relations with the capitalist world are basically developing favorably. We have maintained and are seeking opportunities to strengthen our orientation which centers on Europe and adapts to the changing conditions. [passage omitted]

[Bokor] What do you personally expect from the party conference in May?

[Horn] I expect several substantial advancements because, on the whole, the party conference can considerably contribute to strengthening socialism in Hungary, and through this, in the world. I primarily expect the conference to come up with a real evaluation of the situation, lay down the principles and the framework for the conditions required to really renew the structure of political institutions, and define the tasks that will contribute to this renewal and the pace of implementing them. It is of fundamental importance that, within this framework, the party conference should resolve to work out the party's new organizational regulations and put the reform of the Constitution on its agenda. In order to carry out all these tasks, it is indispensable to implement an organizational and manpower renewal in the leading bodies. [passage omitted]

I would also like to say that the understanding and willingness to cooperate that the outside world, our socialist allies, and the Western world demonstrate toward Hungary is extremely precious to us. However, one thing I consider unacceptable is the kind of Western statement which is quite frequently made and which attempts to make relations dependent on the implementation of domestic changes. We are shaping our policy and reorganizing our economic life on the basis of our own determination and for the prosperity of the nation, and not because this is what the outside world desires. [passage omitted]

State Conference on Wage Reform Opens

LD021022 Budapest MTI in English
0910 GMT 2 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, May 2 (MTI)—"Wage reform and economic advancement," a three-day international conference, opened in Budapest Monday under the sponsorship of the State Office for Wages and Labour.

Economists, company managers, and representatives of social organizations are to discuss the preliminary proposals of the wage reform secretariat of the State Office for Wages and Labour with the aim to find the answers to the questions arisen during the preparation of the wage reform on the basis of scientific information and practical experience. Lectures are to be given by noted experts from socialist and capitalist countries on the correlation of economic development and wages, of the interaction of wages, inflation and employment, and the importance of the state, the market and coordinated interests in wage policies.

The conference was opened by Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the council of ministers.

Opening Remarks

LD021939 Budapest MTI in English
1825 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 2 (MTI)—A three-day consultation entitled 'wage reform and economic advance' started in Budapest on Monday in the organization of the State Wages and Manpower Office.

Opening the conference, Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy said that more economical management of costs by enterprises and the creation of appropriate motivation for the employees are essential parts of the reform. This requires new wage regulations.

State Secretary Csaba Halmos, president of the State Wages and Manpower Office, said that the wage reform is only conceivable as part of a comprehensive economic, and in a certain sense social, welfare policy and political reform. He said that the wage reform should strengthen the function of wages in motivation, the efficient utilization of manpower and the creation of wage proportions that are in keeping with the social sense of justice. The first steps have to be taken next year, Csaba Halmos said.

The position of the trade unions was summed up by Sandor Nagy, secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT). The unions propose that the coordination of interests should start from below, on enterprise level, with an agreement between the employers and the unions on the minimum degree of wage increase. The 'bargaining of wages' should continue on sectoral level by trades and groups of trades, and finally the government, the SZOT, and the chamber of commerce should coordinate their conceptions.

Wages Official Comments

LD021252 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Dozens of economists have argued that the tax reform introduced on 1 January 1988 could bring the expected results only if accompanied by a wage reform as well. But what should the wage reform, which is planned to be introduced on 1 January 1989, be like? A national conference on this topic began today. Erno Kardos reports:

[Kardos] With the current system of wage regulation, we can hardly make any advance along the path of resurgence, stressed Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy at the wage conference which is still under way. He added that there is no point in trying to continue to patch up the existing system of wage regulations. Rather, it must be comprehensively reformed to enable the Hungarian economy to be capable of better results. For the sake of achieving this, it is necessary to restrict state intervention in the sphere of wage agreements; instead of the current monopoly economy, a market must be constructed where labor can also be offered at its true value.

Csaba Halmos, chairman of the State Office for Wages and Labor, said that while there is a need to eliminate administrative wage regulations, there is not yet a developed concept for wage reform. This does not, of course, mean that the experts do not have ideas regarding wage reform, the need for which was explained by Csaba Halmos as follows:

[Begin Halmos recording] As a result of the drop in real wages, which has been going on for a decade, incomes are less and less able to cover the expenses of living for a wide range of workers. Consequently, more and more people are obliged to resort to secondary jobs in order to supplement their incomes.

Second, wages and wage differences have no incentive force. Proportionate wages do not exert the right effect on the development of actual or potential performance. Because of the strict restriction of wages, workers are often compensated for lower wages by lower expectations of performance at their places of work. Thus, there are frequent concessions as regards the expectations of good work.

Third, wages and earnings proportions do not facilitate labor mobility in the right directions; they are acting as a brake on efforts to change the structure.

Fourth, the proportions of earnings, remuneration, have become seriously distorted in the Hungarian economy and society. I could say that semiskilled workers, engineers in nonmanagerial positions, administrators and economists work for almost the same salaries. The most general and most unfavorable disproportions are represented by the lower-than-justified earnings of professionals carrying out substantial creative work; highly qualified manual workers working in unfavorable conditions; and those in charge of production. One can also observe many tensions in the earnings proportions according to economic branches. Of these the shortfall is perhaps the greatest—and, in the view of society, the consequences are the most serious from the point of view of the economy—in the nonmaterial branches, particularly in the sphere of education and health care. These disproportions contribute greatly to the devaluation of the work carried out in primary employment in the socialist sector, thus decreasing its prestige.

Fifth, during the past 15-20 years, central direction has burdened the wages policy with such tasks as securing full employment, preventing unemployment, reduction of wage differentials which might give rise to social tensions, regulation of purchasing power appearing in the form of wages, and curbing inflation.

Sixth, during the past 20 years certain effects in the sphere of wage policy often logically resulted from mistaken economic policy decisions, and the scope of wage policy, creating impotence and constant instability the permanent character of changes. [end recording]

[Kardos] Sandor Nagy, secretary of the National Trade Union Council, said that those who had said last year, when the tax reform was being worked out, that the tax reform could not be introduced without wage reform, have been proved right. Taxes have only worsened the distortions already existing in proportionate earnings. The position of the trade unions is that wages could not be paid on the basis of the principle of giving what there is left. A radical reform is needed, which would take into consideration the fact that the price of housing has long since moved out of reach of the wages that could be earned.

Sandor Nagy said that a viable coordination of interests and collective wage bargaining are of great importance. This must be solved with the full involvement of the public.

PAP Reports 'Mass Participation' on May Day

LD011524 Warsaw PAP in English
1425 GMT 1 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 1—The course of this year's May day parades and festivities in Poland can be described as a common manifestation of support for the policy of reforms.

Despite the attempts to spoil the atmosphere, made by still the same circles of the "unyielding", millions of people—from Krakow in the south to Szczecin in the north—spontaneously took part in the festivities of the workers holiday. Noteworthy was the mass participation in the May Day parades, the more so as this year's May Day fell on Sunday following Saturday off.

The working people, workers and intellectuals firmly came out in favour of the continuation of the process of reforms, both in the economic and socio-political areas.

The attempt to create tension were assessed critically and were said to strike at Poland's basic interests.

Workers Strike Actions Reportedly Spread 2 May

Daily Sees Blackmail In Stoppages

LD021145 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] The GAZETA KRAKOWSKA today carries an article entitled:"What Differentiates Blackmail from Negotiations?" This question is asked ever more frequently by all those observing the course of the informal strike action in certain departments of the Lenin Steelworks. Somehow it does not get through to the strikers that the country's economy is a set of linked containers: blocking some of them disturbs other sections.

An attempt is being made to politicize an economic dispute between the steelworks' management and part of the workforce. Because people who for a long time have not worked there, or even have never worked at the steelworks, have gone inside the plant. We know the figures, we know the scenario. They have got in there because there are no militia cordons around the plant. Most of the departments and sections are working normally, insofar as the technological process allows, in some cases complicated by the strike.

The strikers have finally been informed precisely about the fact that the management has decided to make use of part of the rights that it possesses. For the time being there are financial sanctions in relation to those who have not replied to the steelworks management's appeal and have not started work. Work that does not exist cannot be paid for: This is an obvious matter, so there will be no pay.

Everything however indicates that now the point is not money. For it was proposed to the strikers that in a secret vote of the workers of the striking departments they express themselves in favor of or against the continuation of the action. The audit commission was to be made up mainly of their representatives. And what? Well, it was categorically refused. How does blackmail differ from negotiation asks a journalist of the GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in the title of the article. And here is the reply: it *differs* in this: That negotiators often win, whereas blackmailers are usually defeated, not only in films.

Walesa Reportedly Seeking 'Pluralism'

LD021158 Warsaw PAP in English
1050 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 2—The PUWP daily TRYBUNA today quoted Lech Walesa as saying to the manager of Radio Free Europe (RFE), Marek Latynski: "What we need is a structure...through the economic pressure we will press through the economy to create structures and pluralism. Our negation, negation of the elections, negation of the referendum and of many other things will continue until we get structures. Do you understand." "Yes, I guess so," Latynski was quoted as answering.

"We answer without any doubts. Yes, we do understand, and we understand it very well. But we have gone through this lesson already. The declaration, although not heard now, is particularly clear," wrote the paper.

The daily also quoted a statement by the manager of the West German "KOELNISCHE BOERNER RUNDSCHAU" to the effect that: "The country (Poland) needs anything but not a strike..." and further on: "The strike breaks out at the most unfavourable time that one could imagine."

"The Englishmen invented a saying to be used in similar circumstances: no comment," was the daily's concluding remark.

Wroclaw Dolmel Workers Down Tools

AU0205123088 Paris AFP in English
1201 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 2 (AFP)—A new strike broke out Monday in Poland as the 3,700 employees of an electrical equipment factory at Wroclaw downed tools in support of striking steelworkers, who invited a government minister for talks after unofficial May Day demonstrations and scenes of unrest.

Reliable sources here said the workers of the Dolmel plant at Wroclaw, southwestern Poland, went on strike following a meeting of 600 employees decided on an immediate strike.

A local representative of the banned Solidarity union, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, was at the meeting, which was also attended by management officials.

The workers set up a 10-member strike committee. Three of the committee members have opened talks with Dolmel management.

The strike was called to support the 16,000 striking steelworkers at Nowa Huta, southern Poland, who stopped work last Tuesday.

But the Dolmel workers have also made four demands: a 6,000 zloty (15 dollar) cost of living bonus from May, guarantees that no action will be taken against the 600 employees who attended the meeting, a guarantee that Mr. Frasyniuk will be allowed to leave the plant — he is not employed there — and the broadcasting over the plant's loudspeakers of the strike committee's statement.

The sources added that about a dozen police vehicles were being sent to the Dolmel plant.

Meanwhile, another meeting was held Monday at the Pefawag railway equipment factory at Wroclaw, which employs 4,000 people.

Some 200 people attended the meeting and approved a motion supporting the Nowa Huta strikers, but did not vote for a strike.

Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban was meanwhile quoted by the press as violently attacking foreign correspondents for taking part in an "unprecedented propaganda campaign".

Mr Urban, who spoke on Sunday, accused Western reporters of "provoking riots, inciting crime and misinforming" their readers about the labor unrest in Poland.

Earlier, reliable sources said that the Nowa Huta strikers have invited the minister in charge of implementing the government's unpopular economic reform to meet them to discuss their demands.

The strike committee extended its invitation to Deputy Prime Minister Zdzislaw Sadowski on Sunday night after a day of nationwide unofficial May Day demonstrations and scores of arrests.

Around 16,000 of the 30,000-strong workforce at the giant steel mill outside Krakow, in southern Poland, have joined the stoppage, which entered its seventh day on Monday.

The plant's management has refused to negotiate with the strike committee on the grounds that some of their demands are political, notably the rehiring of Solidarity militants sacked when the trade union was outlawed in 1981 and a return to a choice of unions. Meanwhile representatives of the official trade union movement OPZZ on Monday resumed talks with the management, but only on the wage demands.

Reliable sources said they were coming under increasing pressure from management. Drinking water supplies and meals are reportedly no longer available during work hours and workers have to get their supplies from outside.

Rumours are also circulating in the plant that the management is considering cancelling all the workers' contracts so as to be able to rehire on a selective basis.

Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski warned that he would not tolerate "any return to anarchy and disorder" on Sunday as protest swept the country, and were brutally put down by riot police, who made more than 100 arrests, according to dissident sources.

Nowa Huta Steelworker Interviewed

LD021244 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] [Announcer] And now we go over to Krakow, where Wojciech Pawiak discusses the situation in Nowa Huta:

[Pawiak] With me today is Janusz Lemanski, deputy chairman of the independent, self-governing trade union of workers of the Nowa Huta plant. The time is 1030, Monday.

[Lemanski] The situation in the plant continues to be complicated. (?There are) departments that have still not begun work. Talks with the administration are continuing, (?although) there are no direct talks with the negotiating group. The group has made its standpoint, has demanded a meeting with the director. (?He) cannot undertake such talks as he has declared the strike to be illegal. Our role here is unambiguous. We have started to legally resolve the dispute and step by step, by (particular) stages, I think (?we will get there) at an accelerated rate. We are now at the stage of the final drafting of the document on differences. The management's standpoint in the evaluation of the first postulate continues to be disadvantageous.

[Pawiak] This is the pay postulate? The trade unions constantly claim that this can be solved, yes?

[Lemanski] Yes. (?How) it can be achieved is suggested to us by representatives of the government, after all. This is also an economic programme resting above all on...

[Pawiak interrupts] perhaps, but [words indistinct]

[Lemanski] Where units are [words indistinct] and also on certain economy moves. Neglect of modernization for many years has caused the present situation in the steelworks. This is also associated with the quality of

production. Such an economy program must include everything. I suspect that after the drafting of the document on differences we will immediately move on to other matters [words indistinct] at the labor court in Krakow. There, our motivation will be the finding of such solutions as will recompensate hard work in stell and of the steelworkers profession in general.

[Pawiak] You said one thing that is very important for me: that the matter of the modernization of the plant will suddenly, through this arbitration in court, be decided outside of the plant. That is, one can say that someone who looks at the plant from outside will also consider what steps should be taken to make, for instance, the work easier.

[Lemanski] In many cases, the people, the workers of the plant, are [word indistinct] dissatisfied with the level of wages and this also means that there is no intensive recruitment, and thus that there is quite simply a labor shortage. This means that ever more frequently work is (?abandoned] despite various compensations, financial payments, [words indistinct] for overtime work. Well, we have (?looked) above all to the interest of the (?workforce). They should be assured an 8-hour day and the financial reward for it. Until the steelworkers profession is an attractive one there will continue to be labor shortages. And [words indistinct]

1,000 Gdansk Shipyard Workers Strike

AU0205132588 Paris AFP in English
1309 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 2 (AFP) - About 1,000 workers of the giant Gdansk shipyards stopped work Monday, reliable sources in the northern Poland port said.

Earlier a group of 200 workers—out of a total work force of 12,000—stopped work and marched through the shipyards calling for a strike.

Eyewitnesses said the plant's gates had been shut, adding that a crowd had gathered on either side chanting "Solidarity" and "Lech Walesa."

Mr Walesa, leader of the banned Solidarity union arrived at the shipyards around lunchtime and said he supported the workers. He then left the plant.

Meanwhile, the sources said that Bogdan Lis, a senior Solidarity official, was detained again in Gdansk on Monday. He had been detained for several hours Sunday.

PAP: U.S. Diplomats Visit Gdansk

LD291915 Warsaw PAP in English
1821 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 29—The Internal Ministry's spokesman has said that the following employees of the American Embassy in Warsaw today travelled to Gdansk: Second Secretary for Political Affairs Janet Weber, Second Secretary for Cultural and Press Affairs Gregory Garland and Security Attache Robert Davis. [names as received].

Answering a question posed by PAP reporter, the Foreign Ministry spokesman explained that in Gdansk nothing was happening that had anything to do with Polish-American relations.

Shipyard Workers March, Gates Closed

LD021326 Hamburg DPA in German
1253 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—A part of the work force at the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk has also stopped work today. According to reports from opposition circles in Warsaw, workers from at least two departments are taking part. They marched through the yards with banners to motivate others to join in. At 1400 the gates to the shipyard were closed, it was said.

Intellectuals' Strike Support Decried

LD021335 Warsaw PAP in English
1243 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 2—"The rules and mechanisms of a radical reform carry a real chance to heal and boost the economy but they also pose certain threats. These threats manifest themselves primarily in the form of pressure on pay hikes. Such threats were being expected. At the same time, it was clear that to submit to those pressures in situations not justified by economic results of enterprises would lead to putting the reform mechanisms out of order. Eventually, this would be against the goals of the reform and social interests," ZYCIE WARSZAWY writes today.

"It is hard to take an attitude towards an illegal strike and dispute at the steel mill in Nowa Huta, especially as regards pay demands concerning the workforce or its part. It is however not difficult to assess the very fact of stopping work by a part of the workers. Till Saturday last, the losses amounted to over three billion zlotys.

"A natural wish of society is that the work at the steel mill be resumed as fast as possible since all of us are losing and the losses are directly palpable," the daily continues.

"In a statement, a group of Krakow intellectuals, mainly of the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY weekly milieu, has sent completely different wishes to the steelworkers on strike. Let us quote the final passage of the statement: 'We are conveying to the steelworkers on strike our words of solidarity and our wishes that their protest may contribute to the healing of the situation in our country'. Work stoppage leading to the healing of the situation in the country...the healing of what situation. It could not be the economic one since it does not record overproduction.

"Not to attribute ill intentions to the authors of those strange wishes, it is worth asking about their social logic. Should it boil down to the thesis that the less we work the healthier situation we have. We have already tested such logic in practice and we have been carrying its effects till now," ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote.

More on Shipyard Stoppage

LD021530 Hamburg DPA in German
1253 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The wave of strikes in Poland extended today to the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk and the "Dolmel" electrical machinery works in Wroclaw. Workers' leader Lech Walesa gave an assurance that he had not called the strike but as a shipyard worker expressed solidarity with the strikers.

After the end of the early shift, around 1,000 workers remained in the works, according to the strikers. As in August 1980, they want to occupy the Lenin shipyard. They are demanding an increase in the minimum wage from 35,000 to 60,000 zloty (250 marks), the readmission of the banned trade union Solidarity, the reinstatement of sacked Solidarity supporters, and safety for the strikers.

According to reports from participants, the strike decision was taken in two of the shipyard's departments. The strikers marched with a placard through the grounds and called on other departments to join them. At around 1300 about 200 of them came to the main gates. Lech Walesa appeared there, too. He had just signed out on sick leave.

Walesa said: "I am with you. But I am not the one who called the strike. I am neither for nor against the strike. But I am a shipyard worker. I will come to you anytime I have a free moment. But I must be available to the whole nation". Walesa then briefly returned home. He planned to return to the shipyard later. Around 12,000 people are employed at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk. Solidarity leader Bogdan Lis was arrested in Gdansk on Monday [as received].

In Wroclaw the management of the "Dolmel" electrical machinery works promised striking workers at the works a doubling of the inflation compensation from 6,000 to 12,000 zloty (from 25 to 50 marks), according to reports from opposition circles. Following a meeting at the end of the shift the strikers went home.

PAP Slams Western Propaganda, Lies

LD301938 Warsaw PAP in English
1754 GMT 30 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 30—Western mass media, including Polish-language broadcasting stations, not only grossly exaggerate the unrest in Poland but also wish to incite it by broadcasting false reports. According to their data, there are already a dozen-or-so strike centres in Poland, while the workforces of several dozen work establishments are preparing to strike.

An analysis of this tactic during the last few days shows that Western radio stations are conducting an organized propaganda or even subversive action with the aim of inciting a wave of strikes in Poland, they are trying to cause a rise of socio-political tensions.

Every method is good for the achievement of such goals, including the manipulation and propagation of false information. And so, for example, on April 28th Radio Free Europe reiterated the claim that the plant in Bochnia, organizationally connected with the Lenin Metallurgical Combine, is on strike. While the truth is that there is no strike there. This same station reported about strike alert in a construction enterprise in Skawina, in the Polkowice steelworks and the copper mine in Glogow. These are also lies. And besides, as far as these two latter enterprises are concerned it may be said that the RFE propagandists heard a bell ringing but without knowing where for the mine is in Polkowice and the steelworks in Glogow.

On April 28th RFE broadcast information about strike alert in Lodz, adding the provision that the information was unconfirmed. With the use of such a catch every report, even the most nonsensical one, can be broadcast to the world.

Such an information sociotechnique [as received] was used in relation to many work establishments in Poland. It does not matter that all this has been taken out of the blue. RFE's information madness contains a method of increasing tension in Poland. The aim is to convince listeners in Poland that numerous real or potential centres of strikes, tensions and conflicts, are appearing on Poland's map, meaning that "the whole of Poland is afire".

On April 29th the Voice of America said outright: The wave of social unrest seems to be spreading in ever larger circles. In order to give these thesis an even greater weight the radio station quotes an opinion carried by the French newspaper LE FIGARO which claims that the most important unrest in Poland took on a political character.

On April 30th in a Polish-language programme, RFI substantiated the information about the political character of the strikes with reports of an increasing number of Solidarity strike actions—in the Gdansk shipyard, the Huta Katowice metallurgical plant, in Lodz, Plock, the Polkowice stelmill. It does not matter that these are lies, and even nonsense, since there is no steelmill in Polkowice at all.

The aim of this manipulation is evident. Those who are on strike in the Nowa Huta metallurgical combine should feel that the whole of Poland is supporting them.

And so, it is time to put forward not only reasonable wage postulates, but also to make political demands—on pluralism, change of the system and so on.

That is just it. The politicization of strikes in Poland is at the moment one of the leading goals of Western propagandists. Through agency reports, horror stories on the air, Polish-language broadcasting stations, they want to create a psychosis of political confrontation in Poland. For these radio stations, the rule of law in Poland—if it is directed against anarchy, the infringement on the economic interests of Polish society—is a negative phenomenon, while the infringement on the norms of international law, meddling in Poland's internal affairs—are good phenomena, whatever their consequences for the country.

Dolmel Rally, Strike Attempts Fail

LD021600 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1515 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] This morning attempts were made to organize a rally and a strike at the Dolmel works in Wroclaw. The organizer was Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, along with other persons who have neither in the past nor are now employed at Dolmel. The attempt failed and the works are working normally.

Gdansk Shipyard at Complete Standstill

LD021614 Hamburg DPA in German
1531 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk came to a complete standstill Monday due to the strike by workers. According to reports from participants, a quarter of the workforce—around 3,000 men—were occupying the site. The others had gone home. The strikers formed a strike committee consisting of seven members, who all belong to the banned trade union solidarity or are close to it. Lech Walesa does not belong to the committee because he wants to be available to the workers throughout the country. He agreed with the strikers that he intended to visit them several times a day.

Leading Solidarity members were arrested in several Polish towns on Monday: As well as Bogdan Lis in Gdansk, security officials arrested Jerzy Puciata in Bydgoszcz and Antoni Stawikowski in Torun. Twelve students were arrested at a students' sympathy rally for the striking iron and steel workers in Nowa Huta. In Warsaw, police took a man from a public building; the man had expressed solidarity with the striking workers in Nowa Huta on a banner.

Industry Minister Comments

LD021624 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1515 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Replying today to a question by a television news journalist at the office of the Council of Ministers on the situation at the Nowa Huta combine, Minister of Industry Jerzy Bilip said it was a difficult matter. Fewer than 1,000 persons out of the 32,000-strong work force were hindering production. The situation might affect the work of important contract partners. Losses would be high.

Jerzy Bilip declared that as a minister, he could not react to the fall in production. He is to ask his ministerial colleagues to use every measure available to them in accordance with the law regarding the strikers to resolvet the problem as soon as possible.

Warsaw: Gdansk Strike Call Fails

LD021734 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Here is a report which I received literally a minute ago, here, directly in the studio.

This morning a group of 150 employees of the K-1 department at the Gdansk shipyard went from department to department calling for a strike to begin. When they failed at it, they moved over to the gates of the shipyard, attempting to blockade them and prevent the first shift from leaving. The first shift has left the yard, the second shift is working, but several hundred people are holding a rally at one of the gates.

Solidarity Leaders Arrested

AU0205180088 Paris AFP in English
1752 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 2 (AFP)—Several leaders of the banned trade union Solidarity were arrested on Monday as the current wave of industrial unrest spread to the northern port city of Gdansk, informed sources said.

The sources said that those arrested were Bogdan Lis, Antoni Stawikowski, Stefan Jurczak, Janusz Palubicki and Zbignew Bujak, all members of Solidarity's national executive.

They were arrested in Gdansk, Torun, Bochnia, Poznan and Warsaw.

"It's the entire leadership of Solidarity that has been targeted by the authorities", another national executive committee member, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

"I expect to be arrested myself at any moment," he added.

Warsaw Interviews Nowa Huta Unionist

LD021801 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 2 May 88

[Interview by telephone with Wladyslaw Sitkowski, chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Nowa Huta Combine Employees, By (Wojciech Pagiert), Warsaw radio correspondent in Krakow—live or recorded]

[Text] Here is (Wojciech Pagiert) with the latest report on Nowa Huta, obtained over the telephone. [telephone rings]

[Sitkowski] Hello?

[(Pagiert)] Is that the trade union?

[Sitkowski] That's right.

[(Pagiert)] Hello, this is Polish radio in Krakow.

[Sitkowski] I think that tomorrow will be the final go. Sometime in the morning, I think probably at 0900 or 0930, we are going to sit down, let us say, for some discussion with the management. Perhaps, you know, we will somehow manage it without going to arbitration.

[(Pagiert)] Is there any such hope?

[Sitkowski] I still have it.

[(Pagiert)] What is the strikers' situation like at the moment?

[Sitkowski] Well, I am waiting, let us say. I even wanted, on my own behalf, on my own initiative, to establish contact with that group. I cannot manage it over the telephone because the first time I gave my name the telephone was hung up and subsequently no one would answer the telephone. I wanted to take initiative, let us say, and have a chat with them.

[(Pagiert)] Are there many strikers at the moment?

[Sitkowski] Are there many? Well, let us say, one example say, at the engineering works, where more then 970 employees work on the morning shift, well, of these more than 300 were on strike.

[(Pagiert)] Right.

[Sitkowski] So the general picture here, well, let us assume there are 1,000 people striking in all of these departments.

[(Pagiert)] So tomorrow the matter might possibly still, there is still a chance? [sentence as heard]

[Sitkowski] There is still a chance to save face, that is get a local agreement otherwise we are already preparing, it only needs to be signed, an application tot he court and, let us say, we are promptly handing it over to arbitration.

Industry Minister Interviewed

LD021907 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 2 May 88

[Interview with Industry Minister Jerzey Bilip by correspondent Andrzej Szczawinski on 2 May; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Szczawinski] Excuse me minister, today's government Presidium session dealt with supply of fuel to the economy did it not?

[Bilip] Yes, we discussed the fuel situation in 1987. As you know, in the fourth quarter of 1987 we had a difficult situation with diesel oil; imports this year have been increased by 800,000 tonnes, and this is causing the situation to be quite normal, and the stocks are sufficient to allow us to calmly manage our fuel.

[Szczawinski] This is good news, minister, but I think most of us are more interested in what is going on in the Nowa Huta combine.

[Bilip] As minister of industry, I cannot look indifferently at this. After so many days the situation is beginning to affect the industry and the whole economy, but specifically, my home factory, the Polkolor, for instance. [passage omitted]

[Bilip] One can give many examples, for instance the polar works—1,100 refrigerators, 1,900 freezers a day. This means 270 million zlotys of daily production value and about 50 million zlotys profit. As a minister of industry, I must say that I cannot agree with providing just for one factory, one steel works. I must operate on the level of the whole industry and country.

[Szczawinski] By this I understand that the expectations of this part of the work force that is on strike will not be fulfilled.

[Bilip] If you wanted to fulfill the expectations of the work force on strike, this would mean 17 billion zlotys in wages for the work force of the Lenin steel works per year. In metallurgy that would mean something on the order of 100 billion zlotys. And if we wanted to meet that which director Pustowka cannot meet, the trade union demands for the 6,000 rise above that which he now has earmarked for wages—that which he can earmark—that would mean, in terms of the whole industry, rises of 150 billion zlotys. In terms of the whole country—because the whole country would not remain indifferent—if we were to give the rise to the Lenin steel works, the whole country would also lay claims to rises. That would be about 600 billion zlotys. Can you imagine that? It would mean completely empty store shelves within a year.

[Szczawinski] This is several times as much as you have available for industrial development, for changing its structure this year.

[Bilip] Well, the structural changes fund now has 20 billion zlotys available and by the end of the year it should increase to 100 billion zlotys. These things are simply incomparable. These things just cannot be met.

Apart from this I should say that it is contrary to the second stage of the reform. We cannot just deal with the affairs of a single enterprise. These can only be institutional solutions, and they are the only kind we can discuss. At this juncture nobody in the country can talk about breaking the reform. The government is absolutely resolute about bringing about the situation where the second stage of the reform will finally proceed efficiently and with the planned results.

[Szczawinski] Thank you very much for your explanations.

[Bilip] You are welcome.

Nowa Huta Management Proposes Talks

AU0205191888 Paris AFP in English
1907 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 2 (AFP)—Management at the strike-bound Nowa Huta steelworks proposed talks Monday with the strike committee of the plant, where some 16,000 workers have stopped work since Tuesday last week, informed sources said.

The apparent conciliatory move followed a letter sent Sunday by the committee to Deputy Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski, asking him to go to the plant for talks.

The management initially held contacts with Andrzej Szewczuwaniec, the committee's head. But he refused talks unless the management dropped its insistence on the exclusion from the negotiations of three former plant workers sacked for union activities.

They are Mieczyslaw Gil, Stanislaw Handzlik and Jan Ciesielski, the sources said.

The management asked Mr Szewczuwaniec to "think about" its proposals for a few hours.

Management at the giant steel mill outside Krakow, in southern Poland, had refused to negotiate with the strike committee on the grounds that some of their demands were political, notably the rehiring of militants of the banned Solidarity trade union and a return to a choice of unions.

Representatives of the official trade union movement OPZZ on Monday resumed talks with the management, but only on the wage demands.

Urban Denies Shipyard at Standstill

LD022008 Hamburg DPA in German
1927 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban contradicted on Monday evening reports from the banned trade union Solidarity according to which striking workers had brought the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk to a standstill. Urban said in a telephone conversation with the GERMAN PRESS AGENCY (DPA) that about 500 workers had blocked the gates. Only a few members of the second shift had heeded the strike appeal of this group. In contrast, clergyman Henryk Jankowski, a close friend of the workers' leader Lech Walesa, reported that he had been on on the shipyard site in the evening and had spoken to around 2,000 striking workers there who had greeted him enthusiastically. As far as he knew, nobody was working.

Urban said that in the morning a group of 150 workers had gone through the shipyard site and appealing for a strike. After hardly anyone had listened to them the group had gone to the main gate and attempted to keep the first shift, consisting of around 10,000 workers, on the grounds of the enterprise. Only a few had joined the people at the gate. There was no strike at the shipyard. One could not, however, speak of normal work, as the group had blocked the gate.

According to Solidarity, 2,000-3,000 workers were occupying the shipyard, at which work had been interrupted. They had formed a strike committee consisting of seven members.

The gates to the shipyard were closed off by the police during the afternoon and evening. They were decorated with flowers and banners. At least six members of the Solidarity leadership were arrested on Monday, among them Zbigniew Bujak in Warsaw. Urban said they were being urged in "warning talks" not to go into the enterprises.

Effect of Steel Mill Stoppage Noted

LD022236 Warsaw PAP in English
2204 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 2—The strike at the Lenin steel mill in Krakow's district of Nowa Huta produces tangible costs for the factory. By failing to supply some 900 million zlotys' worth of products, the mill reduces its profits by 90 million zlotys daily.

The work stoppage is by no means the Lenin steel mill's internal affair. Considering the economic reform and financial autonomy, when wages and bonuses which affect personal plans are themselves dependant upon production output, crews of the recipients of the mill's products are eyeing the situation warily, while they, in turn, are closely scrutinized by their customers.

The crew of the "Predom-Polar" electrical household appliances factory in Wroclaw are scraping the bottom of their stock-piles of cold-rolled sheet which they use to manufacture casings and external panelling for their refrigerators and deep-freeze units.

In order to fully meet production plans for this May, the factory needs supplies of some 2 thousand tonnes of Lenin steel-mill sheet. "polar's" supply agents instituted a search for supplementary deliveries from other sources and they are negotiating a "sheet-lease" deal with a number of domestic electrical machinery manufacturers.

The situation at Nowa Huta may bear an impact upon regular rate of production and upon fulfillment of planned tasks of the small-car factory in Bielsko Biala. The factory's director, Ryszard Welter told PAP his plant observed production setbacks due to indispensable material supplies. Prolongation of this situation may seriouly threaten fulfillment of monthly and three-monthly tasks at the small-car factory.

Strikers Issue Negotiation Terms

AU0305074888 Paris AFP in English
0346 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw, May 3 (AFP) — A nine-member strike committee at the Nowa Huta steelworks in Poland late Monday issued a statement setting out its terms for negotiations with the management of the plant.

A copy of the statement, received here, insisted that the management talk to the committee though it included three workers sacked for trade union activity, repeating a demand earlier rejected by plant officials after they had proposed talks to end the week-long strike.

The committee also asked that its official spokesman be mandated with full authority by the Polish government, and called for an end to what it described as the "harassment" of its members and their families by anonymous telephone calls and visits from plainclothed police officers.

The management should also enable the installation of loudspeakers and other communications equipment in the plant, and publish statements made jointly with the committee, which added that it wanted to determine the time and place for negotiations. [passage omitted]

Management officials at the Nowa Huta plant could not be reached for comment on the strike committee's demands.

Nowa Huta, Gdansk Strikes Continue 3 May

Solidarity Seeks Legal Status

AU0305075388 Paris AFP in English
2300 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 3, (AFP)—The banned independent trade union Solidarity late Monday called on the Polish authorities to make it legal again, and to open dialogue at the national level to end the current week-old wave of strikes.

Nine of 13 members of Solidarity's leadership had been arrested Sunday and Monday.

The union's National Executive Committee (KKW) also said in a statement issued to Western correspondents here that the policy of repression had failed in Poland and that "only nationwide agreements and dialogue can lead to solving the current conflicts."

For Solidarity, "the very bases of national existence are threatened," and Poland is "wasting its time."

Poland "needs radical changes," the statement added after stressing that current strikes in steel works and shipyards "are not local conflicts, but conflicts which concern the whole country."

The Polish authorities, the statement said, "should urgently recognize the identity of our society and reform political structures. This is the starting point for Poles to once again feel responsible for the future of their motherland."

The statement also asked for "authentic and large openness" in Polish society, and said that Poland needed "social and trade union pluralism."

It then said that "legalising Solidarity — banned since December 1981 — is a burning necessity."

A pluralist new Poland, the statement said, would "not only enjoy the respect and sympathy of other countries, but would obtain economic and financial aid" from abroad to help it come out of the crisis.

Poland's week-old wave of strikes spread Monday to the giant Lenin shipyards in Gdansk, as authorities arrested key leaders of the banned Solidarity trade union, informed sources said.

In an apparent gesture of conciliation at the Nowa Huta steelworks in southern Poland where 16,000 workers have been on strike since last Tuesday, management proposed talks with the strike committee after an earlier refusal because some of the strikers' demands were political.

The management insisted on the exclusion from the talks of three sacked union activists, however.

In the Gdansk shipyard strike, some 3,000 of the 12,000 workers occupied workshops, halting all work. Sources predicted their numbers could swell still further.

They are demanding a minimum wage of 60,000 zlotys (150 dollars) a month for all shipyard workers. The average Polish monthly salary is 40,000 zlotys.

But their demands have also taken a political turn, calling for recognition of Solidarity, rehiring of workers fired since that time for union activities, and an assurance that strikers will not be prosecuted.

Solidarity spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz had earlier said that if the Gdansk movement intensified, it could mark "the beginning of generalized protest in Poland."

In the southern industrial city of Wroclaw, more than half of the 3,700 employees of the Dolmel electrical equipment factory also struck for a few hours Monday, returning to work after their demands were "largely met," informed sources said.

'No Work' Reported at Gdansk

LD030802 Hamburg DPA in German
0720 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw (DPA)—According to the banned Solidarity trade union, the strike at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk is continuing today. Father Henryk Jankowski, workers' leader Lech Walesa's spiritual advisor, who was with the strikers in the shipyard yesterday evening, said that the first shift had entered the premises this morning. As far as he knew, no work was being done. The cranes were at a standstill. The yard gates were closed. He intended to hold a mass at the shipyard this afternoon. Yesterday evening, Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban maintained that there was no strike at the shipyard.

Lech Walesa intended to go to the workers in the shipyard in the course of the morning. [passage omitted]

At the Nowa Huta steel works the strike by thousands of workers went into its second week. Today the strikers were waiting for talks with the management. They had rejected the precondition of doing without the help of three sacked Solidarity leaders. They would only negotiate if the management presented plenipotentiary powers from the government, above all from the vice premier responsible for reform, Zdzislaw Sadowski. According to reports from participants, the mood of the strikers improved after the Solidarity strike at the Gdansk Shipyard became known. [passage omitted]

Released Solidarity Leader To Return

AU0305083088 Paris AFP in English
0804 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Rome, May 3 (AFP) — Former Fighting Solidarity leader Kornel Morawiecki said he was returning home later Tuesday and would stop off in Krakow, south-eastern Poland, which is close to the strike-bound Nowa Huta steelworks.

Mr. Morawiecki was released from jail in Poland last week after church mediation and arrived here Saturday with present Fighting Solidarity leader Andrzej Kolodziej, also freed from prison.

Mr. Kolodziej was released so he could be treated here for a cancer and his comrade was allowed to accompany him.

Mr. Morawiecki said it was "up to the authorities" if they put him back in prison. He spent six months in jail and was succeeded as Fighting Solidarity leader by Mr. Kolodziej.

On Tuesday the two Polish activists attended a mass said by Pope John-Paul for 500 Polish pilgrims marking Poland's National Day, anniversary of the country's first democratic constitution in 1791.

Shipyard 'Brought to Standstill'

LD0305102288 Hamburg DPA in German
0949 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—The Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk has been brought to a standstill today by striking workers. When the early shift began at 0600, numerous workers were seen streaming into the yard to join the strike. Those who did not want to participate in the occupation of the yard by strikers stayed at home. The police did not stop anyone from entering the yard. At the start of the early shift, the chairman of the strike committee—which consists of 15 members—Alojzy Szablewski (62), came to the gate and spoke to Western journalists.

He said that the workers were determined to win "regardless of the consequences." Around 2,000 strikers spent the night in the yard, some of them in the open air. The strikers' demands were attached to the garlanded gate. The cranes were at a standstill. Apart from considerable pay raises, the workers are demanding that the banned Solidarity Trade Union be legalized, the release of all political prisoners, and better social conditions. They also want to show support for the striking steel workers in Nowa Huta, whose strike today went into its 2d week. [passage omitted]

Police Out in Force in Gdansk

AU0305103288 Paris AFP in English 1026 GMT 3 May 88

[Maryan Kafarski report]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, May 3 (AFP) — Police were out in force Tuesday in the streets of the northern Poland port of Gdansk as demonstrations were expected throughout the country later Tuesday to mark the anniversary of Poland's first "democratic" constitution in 1791.

Police were patrolling the streets of Gdansk, a traditional stronghold of the opposition, where the giant Lenin shipyards have been paralyzed by a strike since Monday.

The shipyard's management said Tuesday that some 80 per cent of the work force, or 10,000 of the 12,000 employees, were on strike.

At least 3,000 of the shipyard's workers are occupying the workshops, halting all work.

A meeting attended by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was held Tuesday morning outside the shipyard gates.

Polish authorities on Monday launched what appeared to be a major operation against the banned Solidarity union, arresting nine of the 13 members of the union executive committee (KKW).

Most of the nine were arrested early Monday afternoon in several towns, including Gdansk, Torun, Bochnia, Poznan and Warsaw.

Among those arrested were key KKW members Bogdan Lis, Antoni Stawikowski, Stefan Jurcak, Zbigniew Bujak and Janusz Palubicki.

(Meanwhile, Pope John Paul II told some 500 Polish pilgrims at the Vatican that their "country can only be sovereign if its people is also sovereign and independent and can make its own decisions on all issues that affect it.")

(The pope did not however directly refer to the current wave of labor unrest in Poland.

(He spoke about "the great drive for renewal created by the constitution of May 3, 1791, at a time when society was agonizing, which was wrecked by enemies from abroad and by blind-compatriots.")

(Tuesday's anniversary "should be mediated upon in the context of current events," the pontiff added).

At the occupied Lenin shipyards, a huge banner proclaiming "occupation strike" had been hung from the gates.

Wreaths have been placed by the gates, on which the strikers' demands have also been posted.

These included wage increases of between 15,000 and 20,000 zlotys (38 and 50 dollars), the recognition of Solidarity and guarantees that workers dismissed by the management for union activities would be reinstated.

Meanwhile, reliable sources in Wroclaw, southwest Poland, said Tuesday that a strike had broken out at the city's Pafawag railroad equipment factory.

The plant's workers have set up a strike committee and are demanding a 20,000 zloty wage hike and the rehiring of colleagues fired for being Solidarity members.

Pafawag employs a total of 4,000 people.

The committee also expressed support for the 16,000 striking steelworkers at Nowa Huta, southern Poland, and for the Gdansk shipyard strikers.

Dozens of policemen were deployed around Wroclaw's major firms and the appartment of the local Solidarity leader Wladyslaw Frasyniuk had been surrounded, the sources said. [passage omitted]

Warsaw: Dolmel Plant Working Normally

LD0305105588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Yesterday on the second shift the Dolmel enterprise worked normally. Today from the very morning the whole work force began the implementation of the tasks resulting from the current program of production.

This morning in the Gdansk Shipyard a group of 200 people was active, walking around the departments and calling for a work stoppage. The shipyard's No. 2 gate is occupied. It is blocked by a group of approximately 500 people.

Urban: Strikes Threaten Reform

LD0305125488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Opening today's press conference, government press spokesman Jerzy Urban said that the strikes that have taken place, and also those that people are trying to call, do not threaten the socialist state. It has strong internal and external foundations. They do, however, threaten the economic reform, which can be derailed. This reform, the government spokesman added, is our great national opportunity. The strikers also say that they want broader democracy, but their activities have the opposite effect.

Jerzy Urban also drew attention to the very small activity of work force self-managements in enterprises in which the strikes are taking place.

Western Radio 'Cheating'

LD0305130888 Warsaw PAP in English 100 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 3 — The party daily TRYBUNA LUDU today accused Western Polish-language radio stations of cheating in their coverage of May Day in Poland and wrote:

"While listening to the reports of the Western radio stations broadcasting in Polish on this year's May Day ceremonies, one can get an impression that the streets of numerous Polish cities resembled American westerns.

"The reporters of these stations, working according to a scenario prepared in advance, entirely ignored the many-million parades of the working people.

"Instead of this, the listeners were presented with scenes of street-clashes, arrests and other pictures which would give the shivers to anyone. As usual, the Munich-based Radio Free Europe was in the lead in this respect. Its reporters, getting on the phone their 'spokesmen' of the former 'Solidarnosc' from various, intentionally chosen cities, asked theim for drastic descriptions of the illegal May Day pranks organized here and there with immense effort and mostly with rather faint effects.

"Even the powerful backing of Western radio stations broadcasting in Polish was of no help. It was not able to spoil the calm atmosphere and mass participation of Polish society in the traditional May Day celebrations. Sunny, warm weather added to the festive mood. But the Western broadcasting stations failed to notice it.

"They (radio stations) do not see, they do not hear, and as if it was not enough, they are also cheating," wrote the paper in conclusion.

Wroclaw on Seriousness of Strikes

LD0305132688 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] I commence the news from Lower Silesia with news from Dolmel and a comment thereon by the chief editor of our station, Wojciech Wystup.

Yesterday at 0930, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and a number of persons who do not work there got onto the Dolmel enterprise site in Wroclaw. They called on the workforce in departments W-1, W-2 and W-5 to stop work and support the strike in Nowa Huta. As a result of these actions, a meeting started in the vicinity of the boiler-house. Serveral hundred people participated in it. The remaining part of the workforce did not stop work. At Dolmel, 2,700 work on the first shift. After talks with the management, whichincluded representatives of the trade unions and a three person representation of the meeting's participants [word indistinct] Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, at 1430 the participants of the meeting together with the remaining workers finishing the first shift left the enterprise. The second shift commenced work in its entirety.

As a result then, one could say that the two fundamental aims that persuaded Wladyslaw Frasyniuk to break into the site of the enterprise — that is calling the strike in Dolmel and getting support for the still striking workers of Nowa Huta — ended with failure. I do not however judge that these events should be treated as incidental, of small significance and range. Incorrect optimists could also cite a few further arguments in order to minimize not only the events at Dolmel but across the whole country.

In the final analysis, at Nowa Huta, one of the largest enterprises, according to the constantly changing situation, there are between 700 and 3,000 people striking. The rest are working. If however one takes into account the far from good condition of [word indistinct] society, called forth by the necessary but painful price increases; if one weighs the degree of determination of the opposition leaders, treating these moods as their last chance; and if finally, one takes into account the degree of disorientation of a society bombarded every day with contradictory prescriptions for the country's economic salvation, then the degree of complication of the situation encourages very serious treatment of these events.

Despite everything, I deeply believe in the sense of my co-citizens, the more so as they still have fresh in their memories the Polish version of Japan, full of empty shelves [reference to Walesa remarks after Japan visit] and economic problems following Solidarity activity] There is no easy way out from the difficult situation, but there are those who, with all the burdens, show a real way to the straight road. And there are those whose vision of the future takes the shape of a downward slope. What will we choose?

Merz on Urban Remarks

LD0305134988 Warsaw PAP in English 1242 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 3—"Strikes which are currently under way and the ones which are intended to be provoked do not threaten socialism in Poland, which has strong roots in our country, but they threaten reforms," Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban told a press conference here today.

"The political slogans of the strikes undermine the process of democratization, of extending civic liberties, of developing cooperation between the state and the church. The people [words indistinct] who provoke strikes say that they want to increase democracy, while actually they aim at something else. The strikes can only

arrest the process of democratization and not to accelerate it. What is taking place in Poland now is not a repetition of events of the early 1980's. The then strikes were a just protest of the working class against the wrong policy of the authorities. The current strikes have a different footing." Urban said.

Answering a question about the number and places of strikes in Poland at present, Urban said that a part of the workforce of the Lenin steel mill in Nowa Huta is on strike (1,700 people in some departments), while in the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk a part of the workforce is on strike, a part is working and a part is waiting. In the Pafawag factory there are some 500 people on strike, he said

Urban confirmed that Vice-Premier Sadowski had received a letter from the striking committee in Nowa Huta on Monday. Because of the contents of the letter, the director of the Nowa Huta steelworks expressed the willingness to talk to those employees who had signed the letter. The talks however failed to take place because of the conditions presented later to the management.

Further Reportage on Visit of CSSR's Jakes

Ceausescu Luncheon Toast

AU0205102188 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Apr 88 p 1

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Toast" at an official lunch in honor of visiting Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, on 27 April in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Milos Jakes, esteemed comrades and friends:

I would like again to express the satisfaction of our party-state leadership and myself personally with your visit to Romania and our fruitful talks.

This being your first visit here as general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, I would like to extend to you comradely greetings and to express the conviction that this will mark an important point in the relations between our parties and peoples.

Good relations exist between our parties and nations. As I said a short while ago, we can call them traditional relations, which have developed in the common struggle against oppression and for socialism. Since our parties are government parties, we are also responsible for the future of our peoples and we have the duty to do our best to raise cooperation between our parties and countries to an ever higher level.

One can say that the current level of economic exchanges and of production sharing and cooperation in science, technology, culture, and other sectors is good. However, as both of us have noted in today's talks, there are still large opportunities for intensifying our ties in all fields. The agreements reached today, including the decision to entrust our prime ministers with the task of drafting a broader program of production sharing and cooperation in science, technology, and other sectors, will open up broad prospects for the future.

At the same time, we should broadly develop exchanges and cooperation between our parties and mass and public organizations and between the peoples of our two countries.

Concerning international problems, we have exchanged detailed views on certain important international problems. Our positions are identical or very close. We have agreed on ways of action—within the organizations to which our countries belong—to bring about disarmament, eliminate nuclear weapons, and solve the complex problems of the contemporary world in a new and democratic manner. We should do more to contribute to solving problems among states through negotiations alone.

We pay special attention to the problems of underdevelopment, to eliminating the state of backwardness prevailing in the great majority of states, and to establishing a new world economic order. In this respect, we believe that all socialist countries can make a greater contribution to solving these particular problems.

The RCP firmly speaks out for strengthening cooperation with all communist and workers parties and promoting cooperation with the socialist and social democratic parties and other progressive forces and movements.

Within the framework of our overall foreign policy, we firmly speak out for strengthening the solidarity and unity of all socialist countries. We develop relations with the developing countries, with the developed capitalist countries, and with all states in the world, regardless of their social system.

On this occasion, I would like to point out that life has strongly shown that relations among states should be based on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and respect for each nation's right to free development, in accordance with its wishes.

During our talks, we briefed each other on the activity of our parties and peoples in socialist construction. We believe that the exchange of experience among countries building socialism is very important. Of course, we always bear in mind that each party and country should freely map out its policy, proceeding from the concrete conditions in which a given party carries out its activity.

It is worthwhile to stress the fact that our parties are concerned with the further development of socialist construction on the basis of improving activities in various sectors and further expanding the socialist democracy and the revolutionary workers democracy. Of course, one country may solve its problems in a certain way, another country in a different way; however, the essential thing is to successfully build the socialist society, regardless of the various organizational ways chosen. We have proceeded and continue to set out from the fact that socialism is being built with the people and for the people and that, when building socialism, one should ensure the active participation of all working people and of the entire nation in running society. Like other basic socialist principles, democracy is an objective requirement of the victory of socialism and communism.

I would like to wish the friendly Czechoslovak people ever great success in implementing the decisions of the 17th CPCZ Congress. I wish you success in your entire activity and much health. (lively applause)

Jakes Toast

AU2605153788 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Apr 88 p 1

["Toast by Comrade Milos Jakes," general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at an official lunch given in his honor by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, on 27 April in Bucharest]

[Text] Honored Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, dear friends from Romania, Comrades:

To begin with, I would like to thank you again for the invitation to visit your country and discuss a number of issues with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

It is my good fortune that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has already made a very detailed presentation of the results of our talks and the conclusions drawn on that occasion. He has also referred to the broader aspects of internal and international life, and he spoke about the importance of the exchange of experience and about the need for each socialist country to make a direct contribution to the development of socialism. I can only endorse everything he has said and agree with everything that has been said here.

We are particularly interested in expanding our relations of comprehensive cooperation. We have already done a lot in this respect. However, we are still faced with many tasks that are not easy. All of us speak about stepped-up cooperation. But this does not apply only to economic relations; it also applies to relations between parties and countries, particularly to relations between friendly countries.

I would like to assure you that our party leadership and government are very interested in broadly developing our cooperation. A concrete step along this road was made by Comrade Dzurinda's recent visit to Czechoslovakia.

The talks with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that the current stage of our cooperation and the achievements to date are not enough and that we must continue our efforts and make greater progress. This is to the benefit of both countries and of the entire socialist community. As a matter of fact, it is also in the interest of solving overall problems and consolidating peace in the world.

I am convinced that the expansion of our cooperation is a very important factor, which contributes to the manifestation and assertion of socialism's priorities, so that it can better influence world developments.

I would like to wish the RCP and the Romanian people success in implementing the decisions of the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP.

I would like to wish Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu much health and power of work in the fulfillment of the current important tasks and requirements!

To your health and the health of all those present here! (Lively applause)

Jakes Presents CSSR Award

AU0311735 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Apr 88 p 7

[CTK Bucharest dispatch: "Presentation of the Order of White Lion"]

[Text] On the occasion of his visit to Bucharest, Milos Jakes presented Nicolae Ceausescu with the Czechoslovak Order of White Lion First Class With Chain. He was awarded the order by CSSR President Gustav Husak on the occasion of his 70th birthday, for his personal contribution to the consolidation of friendship, alliance, and multilateral cooperation between the CPCZ and RCP, the CSSR and the SR of Romania, and the people of both countries. The solemn ceremony was attended by members and candidate members of the RCP Political Executive Committee, by RCP Central Committee secretaries, and by other leading Romanian representatives. Members of Comrade Jakes' entourage and the ambassadors of the two countries were also present. M. Jakes and N. Ceausescu delivered short speeches on the occasion.

Speech by M. Jakes [published]

In his speech Milos Jakes said: Honored Comrade Ceausescu, esteemed comrades, at our meeting today I am very glad to be able to present you with the Czechoslovak Order of White Lion First Class With Chain, awarded to you on the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's recommendation by the CSSR President on the occasion of your significant life jubilee—your 70th birthday.

I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on this award, esteemed Comrade Ceausescu.

Please accept our highest state award as an expression of sincere appreciation of your personal contribution to the consolidation of the ties of friendship, alliance, and comprehensive cooperation between the CPCZ and RCP, the CSSR and the SR of Romania, and the people of our two countries.

We highly respect you as an eminent politician and statesman, as a representative of the international communist and workers movement, as a communist devoting all his life to the fight for socialism and social progress. Your name is linked with the successes that are being achieved by the Romanian people, headed by the RCP, on the historic road of building socialism. By your activity in the highest party and state offices you are

contributing toward consolidating the unity of the countries of the socialist community, strengthening their economic and defense potential, and developing the comprehensive cooperation of Warsaw Pact and CEMA states. By your tireless activity in the international field you are helping to assert the ideal of all progressive and peace-loving people—a secure life in peace and in mutual understanding.

This year we will be jointly recalling the 20th anniversary of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance which marked the beginning of a qualitatively new stage of our mutual contacts. We deeply respect the fact that relations between the CSSR and the SR of Romania have been strikingly active (above all during these last few years) and now include broad cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other spheres of social life of the people of our two countries. Constant dynamic development and a bilateral effort to find the best solutions for the contents and forms of mutual cooperation, which would correspond to the present exacting demands, are typical of these relations.

Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, I would like to express appreciation for our talks today and the unity of views on the discussed issues, and the firm conviction that the results of our deliberations will contribute toward further deepening and enriching mutual relations in all spheres—that they will significantly contribute toward comprehensively developing cooperation between our communist parties and the people of our two fraternal countries, toward constantly strengthening the relations between our states and throughout the socialist community.

Permit me to make use of this solemn opportunity for wishing you firm health, personal satisfaction, and many new successes in your demanding and responsible work for the further upsurge of your socialist fatherland, the SR of Romania, in the interests of peace, cooperation, and social progress in the world.

Speech by N. Ceausescu [subhead]

In his reply Nicolae Ceausescu stated: Esteemed Comrade Jakes, dear comrades, I would like to express my most ardent thanks to the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR president, and you personally for awarding me and presenting me with this high Czechoslovak award. I regard it, above all, as a symbol of appreciation for my former and present activity in the RCP and in the revolutionary movement in our country, in the fight for national and social liberation, for building socialism in our country—as a symbol of appreciation for our party's policy, oriented toward building socialism, toward socialism and peace in the world.

At the same time I would like to stress that I regard it as an expression of good relations between our parties and countries. The relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and CPCZ, between the Romanian and the Czechoslovak people, are traditional. During the years of building socialism these relations received new dimensions. The Treaty on Cooperation, Friendship, and Mutual Assistance between our countries reflects our resolve to follow the common road of socialism and to actively cooperate with other socialist countries.

Cooperation within the framework of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact is an important factor, both in building socialism and in the policy of peace and international cooperation. Romania wants to actively cooperate with all socialist countries in resolving important international problems, particularly with regard to disarmament. In the present international situation we attach great significance to the consolidation of the international communist and workers movement. At the same time we are in favor of a broad development of cooperation with socialist, social-democratic, and other parties and progressive forces.

I would like to express satisfaction with our talks, and with the agreements which we have reached. It can be said that, although your visit was short, it will significantly contribute to the development of relations between our countries and parties.

I would like to express once again my thanks for the high distinction awarded to me, for words of appreciation about my activity and work in the RCP. I want to assure you that the RCP and I will personally do everything to consolidate relations between our peoples and parties. I would like to wish the friendly Czechoslovak people much success in building socialism; and you personally success in work and good health.

Communique Issued

AU291431 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Apr 88 p 1

["Joint Communique"]

[Text] The following communique on the friendly working visit paid by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to Romania was issued in Bucharest on Wednesday [27 April]:

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, paid a friendly working visit to the SR of Romania on 27 April 1988 at the invitation of Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of the SR of Romania.

In the course of the visit Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, presented Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of the SR of Romania, with the Czechoslovak Order of the White Lion, first class, with chain, which had been awarded to him on the occasion of his 70th birthday, in recognition of his contribution to the development of cooperation between the CPCZ and the RCP and between the CSSR

and the SR of Romania, in recognition of his contribution to reinforcing friendship between the Czechoslovak and Romanian peoples and to championing the cause of socialism, peace, and international cooperation.

During the talks, which were held in an atmosphere of cordiality, mutual respect, and trust, the leading representatives of the two parties exchanged information on the main current tasks of socialist construction in the two states and on the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the 13th RCP Congress and the RCP National Conference.

Milos Jakes provided information on the procedures applied by CPCZ agencies and organizations in implementing the strategy of accelerating socioeconomic development. He paid extraordinary attention to the implementation of a fundamental economic reform, to the comprehensive restructuring of society's life, deepening of socialist democracy, and improvement of cadre policy and overall party work.

Nicolae Ceausescu spoke about activities aimed at a consistent implementation of the party's Program of Building a Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society and Ensuring Romania's Transition to Communism and about measures adopted to promote an intensive development of industry, agriculture, and other branches of the national economy, a wide-ranging application of scientific-technical progress, an energetic enforcement of the new economic mechanism, a steady rise in the material and spiritual living standards of the Romanian people, and a further perfection of the system of revolutionary workers democracy proceeding from the basic thesis of construction of socialism with the people and for the people.

The leading representative of the two parties agreed on the state of bilateral cooperation and the prospect of its development. They noted with satisfaction that the development of relations between the two states shows a dynamic upward tendency and that it is based on equality, independence, state sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit, in keeping with provisions under the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance and other jointly concluded documents and accords.

At the same time they underscored the decisive role of close cooperation between the CPCZ and the RCP in expanding and deepening the ties of friendship between the CSSR and the SR of Romania and between the people of the two countries. They underscored the exceptional importance of dialogue on the highest level for the development of bilateral cooperation in all fields.

Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the determination of the CPCZ and the RCP to further develop relations between the two parties and to expand relations between parliaments, governments, and mass social organizations, contacts between the two countries' regions and towns, as well as contacts in the area of mutual tourist exchange, with a view to deepening friendship, developing Czechoslovak-Romanian cooperation, and intensifying exchanges of experience from socialist construction.

The two representatives agreed that the Long-Term Program of Developing Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the CSSR and the SR of Romania Through the Year 2000, signed at the highest level in December 1985, opens wide scope for an intensive development of mutual economic relations, production sharing, and specialization at a higher qualitative level. A number of agreements concluded within the framework of this program in engineering, electronics, electrical engineering, the chemical industry, and other areas of joint interest to the two countries are being implemented already.

They stressed that the continuously growing economic and scientific-technical potentials of the two countries and the results attained in mutual economic cooperation establish favorable conditions for the development of production sharing and specialization. They therefore decided, with a view to meeting the requirements of the two national economies to a greater extent, to charge the relevant authorities of the two countries with taking steps to increase the proportion of products manufactured through cooperation and specialization in the mutual trade exchange.

Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu agreed that the two countries' governments should work out a joint timetable for their course of action in further expanding production sharing and specialization in manufacturing.

At the same time they agreed that the central agencies of the two states in charge of science and technology, in cooperation with economic agencies and organizations, intensify their efforts to identify new possibilities of bilateral scientific-technical cooperation, especially in the area of high technology, such as microelectronics, electrical engineering, robotics, power engineering, and so forth.

The two representatives reaffirmed their countries' determination to seek the development of multifarious economic and scientific-technical cooperation within the CEMA framework, in the spirit of the conclusions of the CEMA economic summit, the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, and the conclusions of the 43d, extraordinary CEMA session. At the same time they expressed their interest in and their readiness to develop mutually beneficial relations between CEMA and the EC.

Appreciation was voiced for the successful development of Czechoslovak-Romanian relations in culture, science, and other areas and the determination was expressed to

seek the deepening of these relations with a view to promoting mutual knowledge and strengthening Czechoslovak-Romanian friendship.

Comrades Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu exchanged views on some current problems of international life. They noted that the general situation in Europe and in the world continues to be rather complicated and contradictory, and stressed the need to make headway in the process of disarmament and of building a world free of nuclear weapons and the use of force. They pointed out that the fundamental issue at present is that of halting the arms race and making a resolute transition to disarmament, notably in the nuclear sphere. In this connection they highly assessed the historical significance of the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which, however, is only an initial step that must be followed by new agreements on the limitation of offensive strategic weapons, prevention of the arms race in outer space, the complete and general banning of nuclear tests, the physical liquidation of nuclear, chemical, and other weapons of mass destruction, a reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, a cut in military spending, and the solution of other security and disarmament-related questions. They expressed the conviction that the conclusion of an agreement between the USSR and the United States on a 50-percent cut in offensive strategic weapons, coupled with a thorough compliance with the ABM Treaty and with the inadmissibility of disarmament in one field leading to a feverish pursuit of armaments in other fields, would constitute a measure of principle in the field of disarmament.

Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the need to reach an agreement at the Vienna follow-up meeting of participants in the CSCE, one that would contribute to disarmament, to the development of economic, scientific-technical, and other forms of cooperation among the countries of the continent, to the building of a common European home, and to reinforcing confidence, security, and peace.

The two representatives were unanimous in their view that new possibilities exist also in a number of other directions leading to disarmament, confidence-building, and the development of multifarious cooperation on the European continent. In this context, full support was expressed for initiatives to set up a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the two military-political alliances and to form a corridor without nuclear and chemical weapons in central Europe, for initiatives to transform the Balkans into a zone of peace and cooperation, free of nuclear and chemical weapons and of foreign military bases and troops, and for the proposal to convene a meeting of the heads of state and government of that region.

The leading party representatives called for the solution of military conflicts and all hotbeds of tension in the world exclusively by political means.

Czechoslovakia's and Romania's support and solidarity were expressed with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to safeguard and consolidate their national independence, for freedom and an independent development, and against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism.

The two leading representatives pointed out that the interests of building an atmosphere of trust and friendship among nations require that an end be put to the policy of encouraging anticommunism, nationalism, chauvinism, and racism.

They stressed the determination of the two parties to consistently seek the enhancement of cooperation and unity among communist and workers parties, and their wide-ranging cooperation and active dialogue on the basis of equality, independence, and each party's right to independently determine its political line, revolutionary strategy, and tactics, in harmony with the conditions in which it engages in its activity.

The CPCZ and the RCP will also in the future cooperate with all communist and workers parties, with socialist and social democratic parties, with other democratic parties and national liberation movements, and with anti-imperialist and progressive forces all over the world for social progress, disarmament and peace, and a better and more equitable world on our planet.

Comrades Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu voiced their confidence that the implementation of the agreed conclusions would contribute to further deepening relations between the two parties, countries, and their peoples.

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, invited Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to pay a visit to the CSSR. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

SCINTEIA Assesses Visit

AU291023 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0925 GMT 29 Apr 88

["In the Interests of Developing the Romanian-Czechoslovak Relations of Friendship and Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/04/1988—The fertile character of the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations, the dynamic character and wide development prospects of the friendly multilateral collaboration where again pregnantly highlighted by the results of the friendly working visit paid by Milos Jakes, secretary general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, to Romania, as guest of President Nicolae Ceausescu, writes daily SCINTEIA in a commentary in its April 29 issue. The

sum-up of the visit, the daily shows, equally disclosed satisfaction at the upward course of the traditional bilateral relations and the mutual wish to increase them.

The current summit dialogue, SCINTEIA goes on, emphasized new and important conclusions meant to give landmarks to the further development of the Romanian-Czechoslovak links in most varied domains, to give them wide and fruitful prospects. A salient feature of the current stage and of the new one opening up for the economic relations is that within the exchanges of material goods that have reached the highest mark recorded ever, special attention is paid to their intensive development, to the expansion of the cooperation and specialization in production. The will to take advantage more of the favorable conditions provided by the economic, technological and scientific potential, as well as the experience acquired in the relations between the two countries, in view of increasing the share of the products turned out by cooperation and specialization within the economic links as a whole, find materialization in the decision made during the talks to have the two countries' governments draft a joint program of action that will be of outstanding importance for the achievement of the targets set in this sense. In close correlation with the preoccupation for risking the efficiency of the relations, it was agreed that the activity be intensified still more for seeking out new possibilities of technical-scientific collaboration, especially in peak domains.

Of outstanding importance, the commentary assesses, is the determination expressed during the summit talks to strengthen the relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, considering that the relations of close friendship between the two parties play a decisive role in the development of the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations of friendship and collaboration as a whole.

The exchange of views on problems of current international life, the daily shows, led to the conclusion that, parallel to some positive shifts come about in Europe and in the world, there still is a rather grave situation, a string of contradictions persist and realities require the halting of the arms race and a firm passage to disarmament, nuclear above all. While emphasis was placed on the importance of the Soviet-American treaty on the removal of the medium- and shorter-range missiles, it was also highlighted that this first step must be followed by new accords toward wide-scale disarmament, conducive to the reduction of the strategic nuclear weapons, to averting space militarization, the complete eradication of the nuclear weapons, of the chemical weapons, of all mass destruction means, of conventional weapons. The need was pointed out for the Vienna all-European meeting to lead to understandings that should help the achievement of disarmament and the development of collaboration in Europe. As stressed during the talks, important contributions to the promotion of these major objectives are the initiatives and proposals for turning the Balkans into a zone of peace and good neighborliness, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, the calling of a meeting of heads of state and government of the countries in the region, as well as the initiatives meant to help creating similar zones in central Europe and a zone of confidence and collaboration along the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the NATO.

The fruitful results of the talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Milos Jakes, the rich sum-up of the visit are warmly welcomed by public opinion in Romania, confident that the implementation of the understandings and decisions agreed will account for an important contribution to the development of the Romanian-Czechoslovak collaboration both on a bilateral plane and in international life, will lead to the strengthening of the traditional friendship between the two countries, in the interest of speeding up the building of the new system in the two countries, of the general cause of socialism, peace and understanding in Europe and the world over, SCINTEIA concludes.

PEC Considers Report on Talks

AU291953 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1827 GMT 29 Apr 88

["High Appreciation for the New Romanian-Czechoslovak Summit Dialogue"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/4/1988—During its April 29 meeting, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP heard a report on the friendly working visit Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, paid to Romania upon an invitation extended by RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The Executive Political Committee showed that, owing to its results and to the understandings reached on the occasion, the visit went down as a new important moment in the development of the relations between the two parties and peoples. The special importance was underscored of the determination of the RCP and of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to develop their ties, to intensify the links between the governments, parliaments and mass and public organizations of the two countries, with a view to deepening friendship and expanding collaboration and the exchange of experience in socialist construction. Emphasis was also placed on the significance of implementing the long-term program for the development of economic and technical-scientific collaboration between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic until the year 2000, signed at top level in 1985. Unanimous appreciation was expressed for the decision reached during the talks to the effect that the two countries' prime ministers should jointly work out a more extensive program for cooperation in and specialization of

production, in science, technology and other areas, to open further broad prospects to the intensification of Romanian-Czechoslovak relations on various planes.

High appreciation was expressed for the exchange of opinions between Nicolae Ceausescu and Milos Jakes in connection with aspects of the international life, which highlighted their identical or close stances on the problems approached and the determination of Romania and Czechoslovakia to develop their cooperation on an external plane and make an ever more active contribution to the constructive settlement of the major issues facing mankind in the interests of the peoples.

Unanimously approving of the results of the visit, the Executive Political Committee agreed on measures to implement the understandings reached on the further, higher development of the many-sided cooperation between Romania and Czechoslovakia in their mutual interest, in the interest of the general cause of socialism and peace.

SCINTEIA Views Balkan Cooperation

AU281826 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1716 GMT 28 Apr 88

["Inter-Balkan Collaboration—A Component of Detente and Understanding"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/4/1988—Referring to the changes occurred after the recent Balkan foreign ministers' meeting in Belgrade among the countries in the region, and to the ever more obvious assertion of the will for dialogue and cooperation both bi- and multilaterally, "SCINTEIA" of April 28 points out that such evolutions are defining for what could be called a new political climate in the Balkans to the creation and consolidation of which Romania has substantially contributed. Owing to its good relations of friendship and collaboration with all the other states in the region, to the concern shown for growing bi- and multilateral cooperation as well as to the major political goal of turning the Balkans into an area of good neighborliness, cooperation and peace, free from nuclear and chemical weapons, of foreign military bases and troops it has consistently promoted, Romania has asserted itself as a particularly active factor in the building up of confidence, security and good neighborhood in southeastern Europe. The newspaper shows that on this plane as well as in relation to the expansion of Romania's links with all the states of the world a decisive role is played by summit dialogue, by President Nicolae Ceausescu's frequent meetings with the leaders of Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey. Many documents covenanted on the occasions imparted a solid and stable basis in the political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other domains, and stimulated cooperation with those states in the international arena. During the summit talks concern was shown for the promotion of inter-Balkan cooperation, a fact evinced more than once by common ideas and initiatives like the Romanian-Bulgarian proposal for the creation of a chemical-weapon free zone in the Balkans, and the proposal of Romania and Greece for the organization in Bucharest of a Balkan summit. In the economic field, the documents signed materialized in increasing commercial exchanges, in actions and measures in domains of mutual interest—from the complex use of the Danube's power potential and cooperation in key industries to the joint building of power, metallurgical or mining units.

The commentary shows that Romania has constantly declared and worked for the growth of many-sided collaboration in diverse spheres of activity considering that the Balkan states, whatever their social system, have common interests and aspirations as regards socio-economic progress in conditions of peace and full security. In Romania's opinion, the development of bilateral ties and of multilateral cooperation are two complementary ways to consolidate the new political climate in the Balkans, and turn the southeast European area into a zone of peace, understanding and good neighborliness.

Faithful to its consistent position on the need to turn the Balkans into a region of good neighborhood, cooperation and peace without nuclear and chemical weapons, without foreign bases and troops, Romania reiterated, after the Belgrade meeting, too, the importance of organizing in Bucharest a summit meeting of Balkan states as a higher stage in regional cooperation.

The intensification of inter-Balkan cooperation according to the new principles of interstate relations is an important facet of a process conducive to the transformation of this area, so turmoiled in the past, into a zone of peace, security and good neighborhood as an integral part of European security, of the general fight for peace, disarmament, detente and understanding worldwide, "SCINTEIA" shows in conclusion.

Vrhovec To Visit U.S., Meet Reagan 5-6 May

LD291718 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1559 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, April 29 (TANJUG)—Member of the Yugoslav State Presidency Josip Vrhovec is due on a visit to the United States on May 5-6 at the invitation of U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

He is scheduled to meet President Reagan at the White House on May 6.

Although no further details were given on this high-level meeting, it is expected to cover not only bilateral relations, but a broader set of international issues as well.

Besides President Reagan, Vrhovec is also expected to meet with other top U.S. Government officials.

Romanian Immigration to Hungary Viewed

LD021105 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1025 GMT 2 May 88

["Hungary: In Quest for A Better Life—by Srdjan Basic"—TANJUG heading]

[Text] Budapest, May 2 (TANJUG)—A Romanian couple with two children, who appeared in a Hungarian television broadcast, have left their country for good last March. Although they are both doctors, it seems that this was not enough for a normal life in the Romanian town of Oradea (Transylvania).

In Hungary, they both found jobs in a village near the town of Mateszalka. He left his mother behind, and she left her parents and brothers. The question is whether they will ever see them again.

An increasing number of members of Hungarian minority in southeastern Romania are seeking permanent settlement in their home country. What were initially individual cases have grown into a major wave of immigrations.

Budapest says that the situation is "under control," but a possible new wave of settlers would require international aid.

Eight years ago, only 830 foreigners applied for permanent residence. Last year the number increased tenfold. The applicants are mostly Hungarians living in the part of Romania which once belonged to the Hungarian kingdom.

Official figures say that about 4,000 Hungarians from Romania live and work in Hungary now.

Last year, 900,000 Romanians visited Hungary, and, by March 31 this year, 130,000.

Budapest maintains that people should seek happiness by their own hearth, Deputy Interior Minister Zoltan Gal said recently on national television. We must, however, help all those who seek help from us. Mass immigration is not the right way to settle the question of the position of nationalities, and we do not encourage it.

This was actually a response to some rumours among observers here that Hungary has thus ensured cheap labour and in a relatively easy manner provided for an increase in is declining birth rate.

When deputies in the National Assembly realized that Hungarians with Romanian passports or local border passes can no longer be accomodated with their relatives and friends, they allocated 300 million forints (around 6.3 million dollars) from the budget as aid to those who most need it.

The Red Cross has collected and distributed over 600,000 forints. The church has also been engaged in this action. Budapest enterprises have offered 6,000 jobs, mainly in the engineering and building industries.

Loncar Ends PRC Visit, Leaves for Rome, Home

Talks With Qian Qichen Reported

AU302025 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 88 p 1

[Aleksandar Prija and Borko Gvozdenovic report: "The Irrefutable Importance of Europe"]

[Text] Beijing, 27 Apr—Talks between the new foreign ministers of Yugoslavia and China, Loncar and Qian Qichen, ended today in Beijing with a high degree of agreement and a more open [otvoreniji] expression of China's "interest" in the processes initiated by the reform in the Soviet Union and the policies of Mikhail Gorbachev.

Understandably, direct words of support and recognition for the policies of the Soviet Union were not to be heard from the Chinese side even in today's final talks between Loncar and Qian Qichen. As far as bilateral relations were concerned, relations with the USSR continue to be burdened with distrust amassed from the past. However, one now has the impression that not even the Chinese side can remain indifferent to the process of reform and the unstoppable changes which are taking place throughout the socialist world, and not just in individual socialist countries.

An unconcealed note of satisfaction is today emerging from circles close to the Yugoslav participants at these talks, which is linked with Chinese appraisals of political circumstances on the European Continent. It can be freely said that these appraisals are freer and more daring in many respects than the majority of similar assessments throughout the world.

The Importance of the Balkan Meeting [subhead]

The Chinese believe and feel that, despite frequent talk of the "migration" of the focus of international relations from Europe to Asia and the Pacific, the significance of what is happening on European territory continues to be crucial for the whole world. The Chinese assess that processes are already under way on our continent that are loosening considerably the classic bloc connections and homogeneity and increasingly influencing the overall penetration of social and economic processes of opening up from both sides the barrier along the "iron curtain" that until yesterday was so firm and apparently impenetrable.

The Yugoslav participants, among other things, also agreed with the Chinese analysis of the characteristic importance which the recent Belgrade meeting of Balkan ministers had for the opening up of new ways for the development of inter-European relations. China gives full credit to our diplomacy in this field and Minister Qian Qichen emphasized today that the real significance of the "example" of the recent Balkan meeting—significance for the whole of Europe and the world—cannot be measured just according to the territorial area which is occupied by the six Balkan countries that participated in the meeting. In the opinion of the Chinese, this involves something of far greater significance.

At the present time, it is difficult to expect the Chinese to say more than they have about the importance of the socioeconomic reforms in East European socialist countries and particularly in the Soviet Union itself. The Chinese continue to adhere to the tactical rule on the "existence of three obstacles" to normalization with Moscow. In this respect, the announced Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the reduction in the Soviet military contingent along the longest Asian border, which has already been carried out, have not had much influence. For now a fuller tidying up of relations will be left for the unforeseeable future.

Perhaps of more significance is what Chinese minister Qian Qichen said to his Yugoslav guest about the policy of reform initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev. In the opinion of the Chinese, this involves an important phenomenon that will obviously be followed here in Beijing with the appropriate, although not always admitted, interest. Thus, this attains broader international significance in the processes of the establishment of new equilibriums in the widest sense particularly on the Asian Continent.

Severe Toward Hanoi [subhead]

According to the Chinese, the persistent Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia is the blackest spot in the situation in Asia and virtually the whole world. For the moment, China sees no improvement here, so this also influences its government's complete analysis of the situation in Asia.

As the Chinese-Yugoslav talks today show, an improvement in PRC relations with the ASEAN countries and, in a certain way, also with Taiwan is also characteristic for this situation; despite the somewhat reduced international ambitions at the moment, the PRC retains a principal role in Asia. The Chinese interlocutors say that Taiwan has not yet fully renounced the practice of appearing on the international scene in the unacceptable role of an independent factor, but the lines of cooperation between the mainland and the island group of exiles are nevertheless much more frequent now. About 100,000 visitors from Taiwan are expected, the Chinese minister told Loncar.

It is not easy to find out exactly the Chinese vision of relations with the other big Asian country, India, at present. As far as we could learn, the Yugoslavs gained the impression that these relations continue to be marked by insufficient mutual trust and by coolness, although it is a matter of countries that taken together constitute a third of the world population. What is at work here is accumulated mistrust over Tibet, the Himalayan passes, relations with Pakistan, and their ranking in the quartet of big powers.

It was said yesterday, and it was concluded today, that under the conditions of extreme [krajnji] and obvious relaxation of international, and especially bloc, tension, the efforts for the so-called "regional gathering" and stronger participation of the developing countries in the solving of lasting and essential problems and crises must be enhanced. In this sense, the Chinese expect that a breakthrough will soon be achieved in solving the so-called global debt problem. This crisis not only threatens the debtor countries, for whom the burden of the debt is too heavy, but objectively opposes a lasting and more comprehensive process of relaxation of international tension, which is after all demonstrated by all other events.

It is not strange in this context that in Beijing today Loncar and Qian Qichen manifested full agreement on the need to speed up the session of the Mixed Yugoslav-Chinese Committee for Economic Cooperation, for such a session could give an impetus to cooperation with whose present volume no one in either Beijing or Yugoslavia is satisfied. Such interest for the development of bilateral relations is demonstrated in a way by the publicity, very prominent by Chinese standards, given to the Loncar visit today; he is the first foreign minister of a friendly country on an official visit to the PRC since Qian Qichen was appointed new foreign minister. Today's itinerary of the Yugoslav federal secretary somehow also indicates this wish for expanding cooperation: Loncar left Beijing for the south of China, precisely in the direction of the economic zones that speed up the Chinese opening to the world. Zvone Dragan, the Yugoslav ambassador in Beijing, was also among those who insisted, while preparing Loncar's visit, that the program

should include an acquaintance with the unexploited opportunities existing around Hong Kong, when a wider participation of the Yugoslav economy in China is discussed.

Stops Over in Rome, Meets Andreotti

LD301535 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 30 Apr 88

[Text] Rome, 30 Apr (TANJUG)—Italy is showing understanding for Yugoslavia's financial difficulties and intends to support justified Yugoslav demands at the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of EEC member countries.

This was stressed by Giulio Andreotti, foreign minister of Italy, during his meeting today with Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs. Loncar is on a brief working visit to Italy on his way from China.

In a lengthy conversation, the two ministers pointed to the traditionally good and stable relations between Italy and the SFRY and stressed that this has been reaffirmed during the recent visit of the Yugoslav Government delegation to Italy, led by Branko Mikulic, president of the Federal Executive Council. Italy agreed on that occasion to grant Yugoslavia a credit to the amount of 500 billion lire.

Minister Andreotti stressed that his country will support Yugoslavia's demands to the EEC and that Rome understands and supports Yugoslav efforts to stabilize the economy. It was also stated that foreign creditors should allow Yugoslavia additional funds in order to facilitate the debt burden.

Views were also exchanged on the international situation, especially the tension in the Middle East, as well as other hotbeds of crisis in the world. Yugoslavia and Italy consider that the process of detente should not only include the superpowers, but also nonaligned and European countries, as well as China.

Agreement was also reached on Minister Andreotti's upcoming visit to Yugoslavia. The talks between the two ministers were also attended by Ante Skataretiko, ambassador of the SFRY to Italy, and Enzo Perlot, ambassador in the Italian Foreign Ministry.

Loncar Arrives in Belgrade

LD302129 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1925 GMT 30 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Apr (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of Foreign Affairs, returned to Belgrade tonight following his visit to China, where he discussed the development of Yugoslav-Chinese relations and current international issues of joint interest with the top leaders of that country.

On his return journey Loncar stopped over in Rome where he met with his Italian opposite number Giulio Andreotti.

At Belgrade Airport Budimir Loncar was welcomed back by Trajko Trajkovski, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs.

Hasani Criticizes Greater Albanian Nationalism

LD021418 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1325 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Pristina, May 2 (TANJUG)—"The clue to the Kosovodrama" is both very simple and extremely complicated: It lies in co-existence of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Muslims, Romanies and others living in this region. It is simple because there is a clear commitment of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia that all Yugoslav nations and nationalities should be free and equal, and that they should live in harmony and togetherness. But there is also the other side to the "clue," i.e. greater Albanian nationalism and separatism, an evil which has incurred major damage to us.

This was stated by State Presidency member Sinan Hasani in an interview to the Serbo-Croatian edition of the JEDINSTVO daily of Pristina, the capital of Yugoslavia's autonomous province of Kosovo.

In 1981, Albanian chauvinists and separatists staged counterrevolutionary riots in Kosovo, which is part of the Republic of Serbia, with the aim of creating an ethnically pure Kosovo and its seceding from Yugoslavia. Since then some 24,000 Serbs and Montenegrins left Kosovo, whose population is 80 percent Albanian, under pressure from Albanian chauvinists.

On settling the economic and political crisis in the country, Hasani, who is Kosovo's representative in the Federal Presidency, said that the way out of the present situation is possible through timely and uniform implementation of what has been agreed, and an action by the most responsible political and state organs of the federation, republics and provinces.

On the economic reform measures to become effective on May 15, Hasani said that they will surely result in "belt tightening," but that this will be easier to bear than the crisis which would go on indefinitely.

On criticisms of the government intervention measures, which were approved by the Federal Assembly, Hasani said that they are being criticized by some republics and provinces because they do not suit their partial interests.

Waldheim Documents Reportedly Stolen

AU0205141888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 88 p 12

[N. Spasic report: "Copy of 'Waldheim Indictment' Disappears"]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Apr — We have discovered that the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs is carrying out an investigation into the burglary of the apartment of the Academician Vladimir Dedijer. It is not known when the apartment was broken into exactly — it is presumed that it happened on a night between 21 and 25 April. The apartment is situated right in the center of the town in Kopitareva Gradina and what is perhaps unusual about this burglary is that possessions were not the thief's target but one document.

According to the statement that the Academician Vladimir Dedijer gave to the investigating organs, copies of documents which could in some way be used to prove that Austrian President Kurt Waldheim cooperated with Maks Luburic, the commander of the concentration camp in Jasenovac, have disappeared from his files. We have unofficially discovered that not one other thing was touched in the apartment.

This is also the first time that the public has been informed in this (unusual) way of an obviously interesting document concerned with Kurt Waldheim. Otherwise, our experts and historians discovered a series of documents on this a few months ago, but not one of them, as far as we know, has been presented to the public.

Apart from the usual information from the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs that an investigation is under way, there are no other facts at the moment. We have unofficially found out that Vladimir Dedijer has some of the richest documentation in the country and as he is the chairman of the Russell Court, some of the documents concern ineresting and international disputes. One thing is certain, because of their importance, Dedijer's files are known only to him and a small number of his collaborators.

Bosnian Youth Opposes Andric Nomination

AU011913 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Apr 88 p 3

[E. Demirovic report: "Assessment, and Then Trust"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Hercegovina has decided not to support the proposal to reelect Mato Andric as president of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina. At the same time it rejected the proposal to elect Dr Stevan Mirjanovic president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina as the only candidate for this office.

We asked Milos Jelic, president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Hercegovina, to tell us what reasons induced the Bosnia-Hercegovina youth leadership to refuse its support to Mato Andric and Stevan Mirjanic for election to top positions in the republic.

Speaking about the election of the president of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina, we think that the cadre procedure has not been conducted in accordance with the Social Accord on the Implementation of Cadre Policy in the Republic. The procedure was not started on time, and those taking part in the consultations had only 6 days—instead of 20 as foreseen—to discuss the suggestion and to adopt their position, Jelic said. Because of this, we insist that the provisions of the Social Accord be respected. We also do not think that the criteria of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina for the election of candidates to the highest offices have been respected, for the following three reasons:

The assessment of the proposed candidate's previous work which should have been both comprehensive and critical was nothing of the kind, and it seems that it could not have been because it was not based on the report of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina; the latter dropped the practice of informing the assembly of its work through such a report once a year. Thus, the basis for assessing Mato Andric's work has actually disappeared.

The second reason is that, in the assessment of the members of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Hercegovina, there was a failure to respect the criterion that cadres elected to prominent office should enjoy full support of working people and citizens. One should not lose sight of the fact that Mato Andric occupied the most responsible offices in the republic (president of the Central Committee of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and member and president of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina) over the past 4 years, which is to say at the time when great political and economic omissions occurred.

The third reason for not supporting Mato Andric is the fact that no other candidates were nominated, although it is a matter of reelection to this office.

What is the worst offense of the president of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina regarding his work in the past term of office?

We do not accept the suggested "assessment" of his work because he occupied a high office at the time when a report on the Agrokomerc affair was hidden from the public.

As regards the proposal to elect Stevan Mirjanic president of the Republican Executive Council, the Republican Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Hercegovina assessed that it was unacceptable to enter the election procedure with only one candidate.

Is this the only reason for opposing this proposal?

No. We think that the proposal also lacks a critical appraisal of the work of the candidate so far. This particularly refers to his work in the Executive Council of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the past term, when Stevan Mirjanic was president of the Committee for Agriculture, Water Resources, and Forestry. We know that during that period, the Executive Council had very clear and principled positions on questions linked with Agrokomerc and they were not implemented in an appropriate way. However, nothing has been said about Stevan Mirjanic's responsibility for (not) implementing these positions. His premature departure from the Executive Council should also be clarified.

I do not accept the arguments that made the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina propose Stevan Mirjanic for this office, Jelic pointed out, because the possible candidates included younger people with a wealth of experience in the economy.

These two cadre moves, Jeglic stressed, for which the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina bears the brunt of responsibility, are the best demonstration of the failure to implement Conclusion Seven from the report on the activities of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina in elucidating the Agrokomerc affair, which was adopted at the session of the Assembly of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina on 6 November 1987. This means that a great gap still persists between what we have agreed upon and what we do. We therefore request that the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina should immediately submit to the Assembly of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina a report on its work in the past year, that the Presidency should continue a more resolute differentiation both as regards abilities and as regards willingness to implement the tasks that our society expects in a quicker solving of the crisis and in regaining its confidence in organs and individuals. In our opinion, these also are the basic prerequisites for a mobilization of working people and citizens, Milos Jelic, president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said in conclusion of his interview for BORBA.

Popit Criticizes Current Economic Policy

AU011846 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Apr 88 p 8

[D. Damjanovic report: "Remaining Dogmas Should Be Rejected"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 11 Apr—The traditional Kidric Awards, the highest recognition for scientific work in the SR of Slovenia, as well as awards given from the "Boris Kidric Fund" for achievements in some fields of science and for top achievements for inventions and technical innovation, were presented today in the Slovene Assembly where France Popit, president of the Slovene Presidency, addressed the winners.

The following are the winners of the Boris Kidric award for this year: Dr France Forstneric, Prof Dr Bostajn Seks, Dr Andrijan Levstik, Prof Dr Miro Kosek, Dr Jaroslav Sesel, and academician Prof Dr Stojan Cigoj. The award for the top achievement in the field of inventions and improvements was presented to Dr Igor Levstik. Awards from the "Boris Kidric Fund" were presented to 33 scientists while 86 authors received awards for their work on inventions and innovations.

Are We in Favor of Development or Vegetation [subhead]

Greeting the winners of this year's awards, France Popit stressed that in both science and society we have reached the point where we should either undertake ambitious and well thought out concepts of economic development and restoration, or remain in the orbit of the known and vegetating.

"I hope that we will opt for a fundamental perestroyka [preceding word in Russian] suited to our circumstances," Popit said. "I hope that we will face the truth, admit our mistakes in conducting the present economic development policy and reject the remaining dogmas that are preventing us from making a leap toward faster development. The late Peter (Boris Kidric), whose name this top award to Slovene scientists bears, fought, worked, and died for the idea of a socialist society which he perceived as a rich society of happy people."

Popit stressed that today's ceremony instills courage and hope that in some fields of science there are still people and resources which guarantee contact with world technological progress.

Speaking about the current development situation, Popit said:

"Yugoslavia, together with Slovenia, is experiencing difficult times. The crisis has lasted too long. Differences, both old and new, are becoming more acute and it is becoming increasingly obvious that the economic policy, particularly in the last 2 years, has been persistently pushing us into a quagmire of all kinds of troubles and difficulties whose end cannot be seen at present. There is no longer any doubt that the creators of the current systemic solutions and economic policy, as well as the proposed solutions and measures, are only touching the surface.

"The forces of the bureaucratic-centralist state manage the newly created wealth which is in contradiction with self-managing, socialist social development," Popit pointed out. "This kind of work could be described as

counterrevolutionary, as it has become fashionable to say. These forces have not learned the lesson from similar historic events and have not followed the example of developed countries that long ago overcame these crises and those of similar size that now burden most parts of Yugoslavia."

The Restoration of the Centralist-Planned Statist Economy [subhead]

"We are again acting differently from the rest of the world," Popit said. "Instead of opening up toward the world, of building economies through which we would determinedly realize a modern market-planned economic system with all its economic and social consequences, we are restoring a centralist-planned statist economy in which the workers class, peoples and nationalities are being stripped of power and new hot beds of conflicts created. This kind of political wisdom is also preventing us from joining European integrational processes, while at home, science, education, culture and some other social activities, which are crucial production factors in a modern world, are called expenses.

"Of course, the situation is not that black at all levels and in all areas. But my reason for being critical is the following: I want to present my vision of the future in a clear way. Affirmatively speaking, I am in favor of a fundamental and comprehensive social restoration along the lines of recent party congresses before it is too late."

Presenting the stands of the Slovene political leaders, France Popit stressed that they not only enjoy the support of the working people and citizens of the SR of Slovenia, but also of some other parts of Yugoslavia.

"We claim that only a successful conduct of business affairs which proceeds from the principles of socialist self-management can lead us out of the crisis. This is why changes in the economic and political systems and other subsystems should be subordinated to this aim."

Weekly Scores Trade Union Qualms Over Incomes

AU011556 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Apr 88 p 13

[Reprint from Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA, date not given: "IMF Lottery Winners"]

[Text] On the same day that Oskar Kovac, FEC member, informed the public about the details of the new agreement with the IMF, the Presidium of the Serbian Trade Unions Federation worried about the fate of the workers after the expiration of the intervention measures. Tomislav Milenkovic, member of this trade union body (who has meanwhile been elected president), bluntly demanded that "he who wants a liberalization of prices and a change in the rate of exchange must say how much public money will thus flow into private pockets."

"He who wants" could perhaps reply to Milenkovic with that well-known sentence: "I do not agree with the question." It is indeed not clear how public funds will flow into private pockets because of free prices and changes in the rate of exchange. Milenkovic is probably implying that the increase in the value of foreign currencies will cause an increase in the corresponding nominal dinar value of the foreign exchange accounts held by people.

The purpose of this trade union ultimatum is also not completely clear. In case the trade union is not satisfied with the volume of the "transferred social money," would this organization demand that the agreement with the IMF be abandoned? Finally, we recommend that Milenkovic makes some more calculations of this kind. For instance, it would be very popular at every price increase to request an answer to the question how much money will flow from private pockets into the economy; or, at every increase of personal incomes, how much personal incomes money will flow from private pockets into the economy; or, at every increase of personal incomes, how much money will flow from personal incomes through membership fees into Trade Union funds?

Vrhovec on Financing of Student Games

AU301449 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Apr 88 p 4

[Miroslav Krmpotic report: "Black Spots of Criticism"]

[Text] Zagreb, 20 Apr—The Zagreb television "Closeup" phone-in program broadcast the day before yesterday discussed the 1987 Student Games. In answer to numerous questions from viewers about attacks against the Student Games and whether one can find their sources, as well as about who opposed the Student Games, Josip Vrhovec, member of the SFRY Presidency and president of the Organizational Committee of the Student Sports Games, said among other things:

"Criticism of the Student Games is nothing bad or negative and we actually tried to stimulate such action, but we intended the kind of criticism that would help build and create things, achieve success, and derive some benefit. For this reason, organizational committee worked in a very open manner. We held eight sessions that were all open to the public. The committee consisted of very prominent social, public, and sports workers from throughout the country, not just from Zagreb or Croatia. We had coordination committees in all republican and provincial capitals, as well as in larger towns in our republic, and all of them functioned perfectly.

The Social Accountancy Service Had No Remarks [subhead]

"We asked the Social Accountancy Service to constantly monitor and control our work. We were an ad hoc organization that was performing a large, complex, and

voluminous project and in so doing we could also make mistakes. Thus, we asked the Social Accountancy Service to monitor our work and to warn us as necessary. They visited us twice and did not find the kind of mistakes that would place doubt on the legality of our operation. Representatives of the republican, city, and federal social accountancy services are now with us here at our request. I do not know whether or not they have been influenced by the criticism."

The kind of criticism that is not well-intentioned should be denounced by our public. This criticism comes from the kind of people who have such a mentality as to never feel well when society is doing well.

Commenting on Mihajlo Svabic's remarks on the financing of the Student Games, Vrhovec said that Svabic's claim is not true that turnover tax revenue had been allocated for the Student Games even after 30 June.

The limit was 30 June 1987, and until then the Law on the Allocation of the Turnover Tax Revenue was implemented to the benefit of the Student Games, Vrhovec said. Considering the difficulty of accounting, a regulation was issued according to which an account should have been made of everything already on sale. That was an instruction, so to speak, issued by the Federal Finance Secretariat and, as far as we know, it was not implemented. We really stopped collecting turnover tax on 30 June 1987, or, better said, we have no indication that any revenue was received after that deadline.

Stimulative Marketing [subhead]

Josip Vrhovec said that it is true that the revenue earned from the turnover tax was high, but he pointed out that this was nothing new. He explained the high amount of this revenue by the fact that the Student Games had great difficulties in receiving funds from other sources, due both to the grave economic situation and very high inflation, and to the fact that most of the funds were supposed to be received from social activities and education, which themselves are in a bad situation. Since they would not be able to fulfill their obligations, the entire concept of the games and the obligations Yugoslavia had assumed as host would come into question.

"We had to solve this problem, so we worked jointly with many work organizations on the promotion of products," Vrhovec said. "Therefore, we did not just go there, collect the revenue and depart. That is a very simplified and negativist interpretation which is aimed at discrediting the entire concept. What we actually did was work according to modern marketing methods which stimulate production and the introduction of new products, and we developed a greater enthusiasm in selling," Vrhovec said. He concluded by saying: "If only this experience gained using modern marketing methods and a modern way of winning the market could be retained for good."

STUDENTSKI LIST Editors Resign

AU281216 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Apr 88 p 14

[R. Vujatovic report: "Resignation of the STUDENTSKI LIST Editorial Board"]

[Text] Zagreb, 20 Apr—The editorial board of the Zagreb paper STUDENTSKI LIST today sent telex reports to several Yugoslav newspapers informing the Yugoslav public that the entire editorial board is resigning. What is unusual is that the editorial board did not inform the paper's founder about its decision.

"I do not have any reliable information about this, up to now we have not received an official statement or conclusion, and therefore I do not know what to say about it," Kamilo Antolovic, secretary of the Zagreb Socialist Youth Organization City Committee, said. There you are, Antolovic added, we are the founders of the paper and as you can see the editorial board sent their resignation to you rather than to us. What does it all look like to you?

Of course, it is interesting to hear the reason that led the editorial board to make this move.

"Trying to continue the work in this almost completely abnormal situation in which a new acting chief editor was brought from outside, trying to show that it cares about the paper and ideas it promoted, the STUDENTSKI LIST editorial board accepted the new chief editor in a correct manner and tried to work with him on the preparation of the new issue," the statement points out. "However, it was shown that both the editorial board and the new chief editor were placed in a situation from which the only way out was for us to resign.

"Assuming the limits of a political compromise, the editorial board could not continue its work in the existing conditions. It was our intention to hold a serious conversation about the most sensitive issues and problems of Yugoslav society. But, our efforts were declared to be political illiteracy and irresponsibility."

What are you going to do now?—we asked Kamilo Antolovic, secretary of Zagreb Socialist Youth Organization City Committee.

Nothing, we are going to appoint a new editorial board, but I must stress, we did not express lack of confidence in the old editorial board.

Laszowski Addresses Macedonian LC Session

LD270904 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Skopje, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—The Macedonian LC Conference is devoted to the tasks of Communists in overcoming the socioeconomic crisis and in achieving the socioeconomic development of this republic. Almost

500 delegates will participate in the work of the conference, which will last 2 days. Dusan Chebic greeted the conference on behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Jakov Lazarevski, president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, submitted an introductory report at the conference.

The socioeconomic situation in Macedonia is very complex and thus the LC is facing hard tasks, tasks which must be confronted since there is no other alternative, Jakov Lazarevski pointed out. The LC must lead the action for a way out of the crisis and thereby prove that it is a leading and motivating force in society. The survival of socialist self-managing development depends on the successful realization of these tasks, as well as on the fate of the LC and its development.

Though we are not satisfied with the results of the activities of the entire LC organization in the past 2 years, Lazarevski stressed, some positive processes should not be underestimated. This primarily includes changes in the understanding that a way out of the crisis is not possible without respect for market ways of economic activity and for the functioning of economic laws. In this sense we have started the process of recovery and bankruptcy in some organizations, cases of financial malversations have been uncovered. [TANJUG part 2 and 3 not received]

The development of the Republic, Lazarevski pointed out, essentially depends on a better utilization of existing economic capacities. It is necessary to intensify economic activity. Profitable capacities must be revitalized, while the unprofitable ones should be closed down.

All this requires a greater mobility of accumulation and a wider process of self-managing economic integration on the entire Yugoslav scene. To this aim it is necessary to do away with administrative pressures and bureaucratic decision-making. The common force behind all this pooling must be the realization of a bigger income and rational utilization of social capital.

Assessing that unemployment is the biggest economic, social, and political problem in Macedonia, Lazarevski pointed out that the only path to gradually overcoming this is to revive economic activity. There are over 140,000 unemployed in the republic out of which over 70 percent are young people under 30.

Pointing out that implementation of the population policy in Macedonia is necessary, Lazarevski energetically rejected distorted interpretations of the motif for a change in orientation of demographic development, which are emerging in some environments. They have nothing in common with the truth and are directed against efforts to stabilize the socioeconomic and political situation in the republic, Lazarevski said.

The Macedonian strategy should continue to be developed at a faster rate than the country's average, Lazarevski stressed, adding that this is a fundamental economic and political question of crucial importance for the successful development of the country as a whole and for the realization of the economic and political equality of Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

Within this framework, Lazarevski assessed as unacceptable some proposals which have been emerging recently, whereby under the pretense of modernizing assistance to underdeveloped regions, efforts are made to abolish this assistance. Open demands that funds to stimulate the speedier development of insufficiently developed regions no longer be set aside, since this prevents the development of more developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, are frequently being made.

However, the mechanism for directing resources toward the speedier development of underdeveloped republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo should be improved, both in the area of creating and of utilizing these resources. The manner of pooling labor and resources employed so far has not essentially fulfilled this task. Therefore, efforts are being made to ensure that the necessary resources of the speedier development of underdeveloped republics and for the speediest development of Kosovo reach them safely and under favorable conditions.

Speaking about necessary changes in the political system, Lazarevski stressed that the coming changes in the Constitution would have to provide conditions for commodity production with full observance of the law of value and other market laws. To this end the LC must rid itself of delusions about the alleged incongruity between commodity production and socialism, socially owned property, and the market economy.

In our development so far, Lazarevski stressed, these great illusions have caused great damage and to disprove them would be of great historic significance for our continued socioeconomic development. The responsibility for this lies primarily with the League of Communists.

The other ideological delusion concerns the reproduction of socially owned property in the form of socially owned capital. In this sense, resistance to market capital and to the developed financial market are a deep confusion. Without these the system of market forces cannot function properly nor can the country's potentials be utilized rationally. We must also deal energetically with sectarian attitudes to other forms of ownership.

The forthcoming constitutional changes must provide a clear definition of the federation's functions. This

implies dealing decisively with all ideological confusions, either on a nationalist, separatist, or unitaristic-centralist basis. National freedom, equality, brotherhood, and unity can be manifested and implemented only within the Yugoslav socialist federal community, Lazarevski stressed.

We often speak about the LC being in the grip of a crisis, Lazarevski said. In the preceding period, the LC became increasingly alienated from the working class and from its interests. Party leaderships increasingly coalesced with state organs and centers of power with resultant internal bureaucratization of the LC. Instead of fulfilling its leading role the LC behaved more like the party in power.

Policentric statism led to factionalism, insularity, and opposition from statist republican and provincial structures while in some environments differences and divisions were forced upon people. Their nationalist characteristics, typical of a bureaucratic, retrograde mind and ideology, stood against the unity of interests, historical experience, and working class prospects. The LCY failed to counter the tendencies which brought about the crisis on time and in the right manner. Ideas became evident within the LC itself with origins in the ideology of statist bureaucratism or bourgeois liberalism. At the same time nationalist tendencies are gaining ground in society. According to Lazarevski, their proponents share a common platform in their efforts to blame socialist self-management for the crisis and to negate and attack the political system, federal system, and the legitimacy of the LC by using counterrevolutionary means and methods. There can be no dialogue with such forces, Lazarevski stressed.

At this complex juncture Communists cannot afford to be superficial, to lack self-criticism, and to be opportunistic. Lazarevski emphasized that these phenomena are manifest in the activity of the Macedonian LC. Our words differ from our deeds and our standpoints and conclusions are therefore only partially implemented.

Lazarevski went on to outline the main directions of the Macedonian LC's activity. These include: consolidation of ideopolitical and action unity, democratization in internal relations within the party, fighting artificial divisions among Communists, the working class, and our nations and nationalities, the struggle against federalizing the LCY and turning it into a coalition of the republican and provincial LC's.

Of particular importance is the need to raise the level of political responsibility to be borne by leading officials and holders of social functions in sociopolitical organizations and communities and in associated labor. Finding the ways of resolving contradictions in society is primarily the task of leaderships. The party rank and file therefore rightly calls for them to be called to account. To this end, Lazarevski said, bringing his report to a conclusion, we must be consistent in implementing ideopolitical and other measures against all and especially against communists in responsible posts both in the LC and in society who fail to carry out the LC'S policy and who, in other words, violate the Constitution and legal, self-managing, and statutory norms.

Macedonian LC Conference Adopts Stands

LD280850 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Skopje, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—The LC must urgently adapt its vanguard role to contemporary social conditions, seeking new democratic forms for dealing with exacerbated problems of social and economic crisis, it is pointed out in the positions of the LC conference. It is necessary to carry out radical changes in LC methods of operation; therefore, a critical examination of the present behavior in the LC and of the manifestations of inactivity, irresponsibility, opportunism, and inefficiency should be carried out.

One of the tasks that the Macedonian LC is establishing for itself is to energetically overcome the forum type of work, drawing conclusions just to draw them, isolating Communists among its own organs and organizations. The consequence of this is inactivity, passivization of the LC members, particularly of basic organizations and other sociopolitical forces in which the LC is not an internal force.

During a 2-day work session delegates of the Macedonian LC comprehensively pointed out both causes and consequences of the socioeconomic crisis, which is hitting even harder this insufficiently developed republic. Criticism was made of the (lack of) LC activity. In the stands, particular stress is placed on the necessity of overcoming their own crisis and settling accounts with opportunism and bureaucratism among its own ranks. It is also necessary to mobilize and activate the working class and working people for essential socioeconomic changes and to open up every avenue for a way out of the crisis.

The Macedonian LC conference favors building LCY unity on working and class bases, and the LC must energetically oppose trends weakening this unity, the federalization of the LCY, as well as failure to respect and interpret the principle of democratic centralism. The ideological and action unity of the LC is an essential prerequisite for faster socioeconomic development, and in building it it is necessary to start from the immediate and historical interests of the working class of Yugoslavia, as an integral and cohesive factor in the Yugoslav federation.

The conference positions stress the need for the most urgent and comprehensive reforms of the economic system in accordance with the long-term program for economic stabilization. In this connection and as part of constitutional changes, it is necessary to eliminate all changes that are an obstacle to such solutions. One of the

most essential issues regarding a way out of the crisis is that through changes it should be made possible for the market and economic laws to act more freely, as much in the market of products and services as among all other production factors.

The Macedonian LC conference believes that the federation should express itself a great deal more as an efficient instrument for attaining general and joint interests of all nations and nationalities, working class, and associated labor as a whole. It is necessary to strengthen the authority of the federation and efficiency of the federal organs in ensuring the functioning of the uniform socioeconomic system and common Yugoslav market and in building the country's macroeconomic and development policy. The federation must prove itself to be more efficient in terms of uniformity of the political system and as an essential factor in further strengthening the people's defense and social self-protection, and the country's independent and nonaligned policy as essential prerequisites for the country's stability.

In the conference's stands, concrete tasks for overcoming the socioeconomic crisis are then set out. Key prerequisites for this are greater productivity, production, and exports—that is, stronger economic activity. It is necessary to strengthen the quality of production, fully utilize capacities, and increase production in agriculture, which has so far been neglected. Immediate and development tasks are also set out, and it is noted that they cannot be attained without greater participation of the Macedonian associated labor organizations in joint Yugoslav programs.

In the conference stands, particular stress is given to the unacceptability of attacks on the institution working for faster development of insufficiently developed republics, and the fastest development of Kosovo—seeking to abolish it. This institution is part of the FEC's program. At this juncture there should be no speculation about these questions, which are essential to the country since in this way a direct attack is being carried out on the unity of Yugoslavia. A more balanced development of the country, and as part of this also a faster development of insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, is a fundamental question through which it is ensured that the immediate and historical interests of the working class and equitable relations of nations and nationalities are achieved.

In its stands, the Macedonian LC conference stresses that the country's unity in seeking a way out of the crisis is particularly significant for strengthening the fight against all aspects of nationalism, particularly Albanian nationalism and separatism, as well as for further developing brotherhood and unity and equality of Yugoslav nations and nationalities.